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National Action

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mistrust?

We stand
with Fatima
and Gary
against
ignorance
and bigotry

HOPE not hate

Providing a positive
antidote to hate
and intolerance

Nov-Dec 2016
Issue no. 29 Price £3.50



www.hopenothate.org.uk

Breitbart



A large, close-up black and white photograph of Steve Bannon, showing his face and upper shoulders. He has long, wavy hair and a full, bushy beard. He is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. In the background, there are blurred stacks of books or papers, suggesting an office environment.

The Alt-Right mouthpiece at
the heart of the White House

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HOPE not hate challenges organised hate and intolerance within our society. We mobilise communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate.

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HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and
anti-racist publication

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Cover Photo: Breitbart News Network executive chairman Stephen Bannon.
Photo: Don Irvine

HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly publication providing information on hate groups and community initiatives to combat them.

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Meeting the threat

AS 2016 ENDED, HOPE not hate came under attack from Nigel Farage who, on LBC radio, called us an extremist organisation who "masquerade as being lovely and peaceful, but actually pursue violent and undemocratic means."

As we wait to see if Farage apologises as we have demanded, HOPE not hate is bringing forward the introduction of a Rapid Rebuttal Unit that will see us respond more quickly and effectively to the lies and distortions that have become normal for Farage and his political entourage.

With social media becoming ever more important and being the perfect conduit for false news and outright lies, it is imperative that we have an operation that can push back in real time.

Our new Rebuttal Unit will provide journalists with accurate and sourced material, give our own supporters the tools to counter these lies on social media and, through some very specific targeting, enable us to provide accurate information to people susceptible to right-wing populist messages but who are not hardened believers.

This is just one of the many initiatives being introduced by HOPE not hate in 2017.

Supporting the Rebuttal Unit, and our wider organisation, will be a new digital team whose job will be to turn our research and material into more easily understood and sharable messages on social media. This should also help expand our effectiveness.

Another new project will see us engage in communities in "post-industrial" areas which have increasingly abandoned hope in mainstream politics and as are becoming influenced by the politics of blame and scapegoating.

To effect lasting change, we need to work with communities to address

their underlying concerns: economic insecurity, and the sense of being powerless, left behind and ignored. The project will seek to help communities focus on addressing the issues that are disempowering them.

On the ground we will continue to build HOPE not hate groups and next summer we will join with the Jo Cox Foundation to run another #MoreInCommon weekend to mark the anniversary of her murder.

A schools project we have been piloting in Essex over the past year will be rolled out nationally. This project tackles everyday discriminatory language, educates against the threat of extremism and provides an anti-racist training course for teachers and other professionals. Running alongside this will be a new youth-centred anti-racist music project that we will run in collaboration with UK Music.

Our research team will continue to expand, with increased research and analysis of the threats we face and international projects like our recent US election special.

2017 is going to be a tough year. Racism and xenophobic rhetoric appears to be on the increase. The collapse of the Islamic state will likely lead to more terrorist attacks across Europe while nazi Thomas Mair's murder of Jo Cox reminds us of the continuing threat from right-wing terrorism.

And importantly, the continuing reduction of trust in our political process is likely to make it easier for right-wing demagogues and websites like Breitbart to spread false news and bully their opponents.

HOPE not hate has to evolve to meet the threat and, with your on-going support, that's exactly what we intend to do.

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"ALT-RIGHT" WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND BEYOND



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NATIONAL ACTION ATTRACTING MILITANT AND VIOLENT FASCISTS

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REVOLUTION BETRAYED THE SOUR 60th COMMEMORATION OF 1956

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 150,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

www.hopenothate.org.uk



**HOPE
not hate**

CONTRIBUTORS



ELISABETH POP

Elisabeth Pop reports on HOPE not hate's efforts to collect clothes and other goods from local communities in rural Cambridgeshire for migrants and refugees in camps in France.



TOM GODWIN

Wales HOPE not hate organiser explains a new initiative in Merthyr Tydfil that seeks to re-engage with working class communities feeling increasingly marginalised and left behind in modern society.



BERNARD RORKE

An academic who teaches a "Roma Rights" course at the Central European University in Budapest, Bernard explains how the Hungarian Government has betrayed the memory of the 1956 Revolution.

UK Miners Pension Scheme and We Shall Overcome present..

A festive song like no other



MERRY CHRISTMAS FROM HATFIELD MAIN

Joe Solo and the
Hatfield Brigade



Available to download from 28/11/2016

All proceeds to help those struggling in #FoodBankBritain

Cambridgeshire cares

By Elisabeth Pop



IN OCTOBER and November, Cambridgeshire HOPE not hate organised drop-in donations for refugees in Ickleton (with people from Great Chesterford, Duxford and Linton also bringing donations on the day and signing up to the campaign), Shepreth (with support from Meldreth, Melbourn, Orwell and Barrington residents) and in Cottenham (with supporters from Histon, Impington and Waterbeach).

While some Cambridge residents were already doing so much – with the city even becoming a City of Sanctuary – HOPE not hate supporters in the South Cambridgeshire villages felt they wanted and could do more.

With the help of our partners from Cambridge Calais Refugee Action

Group (CamCARG) who run convoys to France, the donations (four car loads of key equipment and one car of food items) will go a little way towards helping refugees in Calais and Dunkirk make it through the winter.

The fact that Cambridgeshire cares and that these typical Middle England villages are open and welcoming does not come as a surprise. South Cambridgeshire has just been named as the fourth most vibrant economy in the country.

No wonder our existing supporters, as well as charities, community groups and churches that have come on board and helped us run the collections, see this just as the start of a campaign that will put all our heads, hearts and

resources together to ensure refugees find hope and a home in South Cambridgeshire.

In a recent meeting we had with Conservative MP Heidi Allen we were happy to hear that she is willing not just to say the right things but actually commit to acting and working together.

As she told *Cambridge News*: "I think, in Cambridge, and in South Cambridgeshire in particular, people are very open-minded and want to welcome a culturally diverse range of people."

If you want to find more, get involved and make a difference, please get in touch: elisabeth@opennot hate.org.uk, www.facebook.com/CBshireHNH, www.twitter.com/CBshireHNH



LONDON C18 GIG

IN EARLY November, the nazi group Combat 18 held a gig in Dagenham, east London. Attended by about 100 people, the event brought together veteran British nazis and a large group of Polish fascists currently living in Britain. Among them were several Polish C18 activists.

Headlining the gig were German C18 band Oidoxie and Polish band Legion Twiedzy Wroclaw. Another German band, Sniper, also played.

The supposedly non-political band Flathead performed. Led by Micky French, once of Skrewdriver, the band has recently developed a close relationship with C18 leader Will Browning.

Browning himself played as part of No Remorse, the most hardline nazi band in the world. The gig was held at the Dagenham Trades Hall.

RVF holds demonstration in Egham

ON SATURDAY 22 October, a tiny band of eleven Racial Volunteer Force (RVF) members – accompanied by Jez Turner of the racial nationalist London Forum – gathered at the gates of Royal Holloway University (RHUL) in Egham, Surrey.

The embarrassingly small event was met by a counter-demonstration made up of around 50 students and locals.

The RVF had called the demonstration in protest at Mark Atkinson, leader of the RVF and a cleaner at Royal Holloway, being moved to another job as a result of him being exposed as a violent antisemite and racist.

Atkinson and a friend worked for CleanTEC and were employed to clean the university's Student Union. However, a statement released by RHUL explained: "Following information Royal Holloway received about the individuals' associations with a group known for violent and discriminatory views, they were removed from the team supplied by the contractor to provide cleaning services on campus."

After being "outed", Atkinson left the firm and subsequently called the demonstration, claiming the university had infringed his freedom of speech. However, given Atkinson's past the university had no option but to act in the interests of their staff and students.

Atkinson's Past

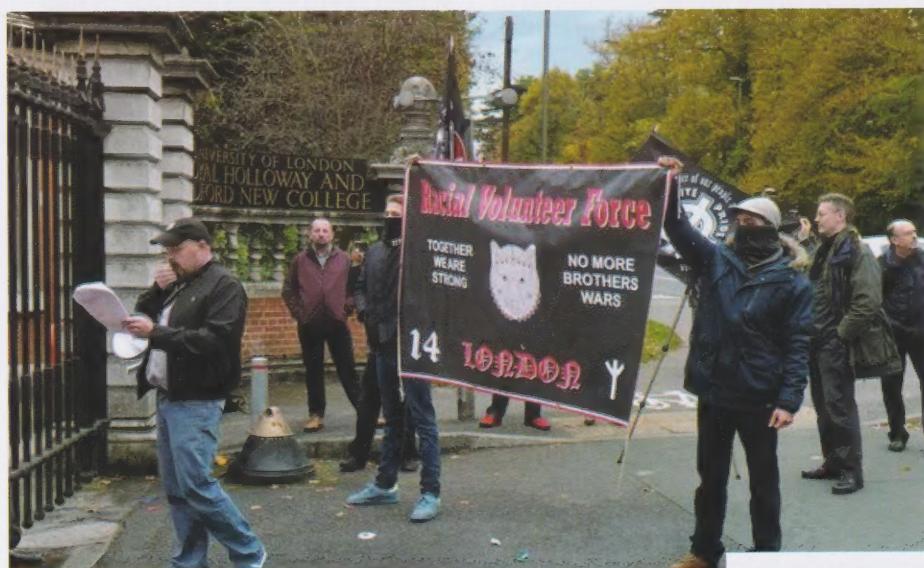
Atkinson has a long history of extremism and has been involved with some of the UK's most violent nazi and racist organisations since the 1990s. Formerly a leading member of the terrorist Combat 18 (C18), he now leads a splinter group called the Racial Volunteer Force.

During the 1990s, disgusting pictures of Atkinson and other C18 members at the Auschwitz death camp appeared in issue 3 of their infamous Black Mag. The article called "The Holocaust is a load of bollocks!: C18 experts examine the myth" includes pictures of Atkinson lying on an operating table and C18 members giving the Nazi salute around the camp.

In 2005, he was convicted along with four other RVF members for producing and distributing a race hate magazine called *Stormer* celebrating the nazi nail bomb killer David Copeland and including instructions on how to make bombs.

Despite spending years in prison, Atkinson re-emerged politically unreconstructed and continues to write and publish extreme Holocaust denial material from his home in Egham.

Managing to muster such tiny numbers for the demonstration at Royal Holloway was no doubt a major embarrassment and evidence of the RVF's lack of influence and importance on the UK far right. Jez Turner's vocal support on the day is no surprise as he now makes a habit of attending any far right event where he is welcome.



- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Analysis: Profile of National Action, p22



NORWAY | State intolerance rises

FROM TOR BACH IN OSLO

AN ARCTIC GUST is blowing over Norway, not because winter is on the way but because of the right-wing government's increasingly harsh stance on asylum.

Only 2,526 persons applied for asylum in Norway in 2016, partly because of border controls within the EU and partly because of the poor treatment of asylum seekers in Norway. Asylum seekers living in Norway face more and more restrictions. Among other things, they will not be able to handle cash and their meagre benefits can only be used by with a special plastic card that allows no cash withdrawals.

Hardly any Afghans receive asylum because the Norwegian government has decided that Kabul is a safe place and that Afghans, including children coming to Norway on their own, can be returned to Kabul despite the deteriorating security situation there. Eritrea was declared a stable country last year despite having one of the worst regimes in the world after North Korea. The Ethiopian regime that is responsible

for several recent bloodbaths has been praised by Norwegian prime minister Erna Solberg for its improved economy, and her government wants to return as many Ethiopians as possible. At the end of October it was decided that Somalia was also "safe" and 1,600 Somalis with temporary protection in Norway are now facing their residency permits being revoked.

Meanwhile, the rhetoric of integration minister Sylvi Listhaug is getting more hostile while most of the political mainstream keeps quiet. It seems nobody wants to touch asylum politics, the Christian Democrats and the Liberals being support parties of the Conservative-Progress Party government, and the Labour Party seemingly silently approving of the government's attitude.

At the same time, cutbacks in public welfare are drowning completely in the asylum panic and Listhaug's endlessly hostile rumblings over asylum seekers and Muslims.

Winter is truly coming.



Integration minister
Sylvi Listhaug is
getting more hostile
to migrants. Photo:
Statsministerens
kontor

SPAIN | Nazi accused of raping his partner.

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN VALÈNCIA

JOSÉ ANTONIO Andrés Orts, 41, a professional soldier in the Spanish Army who was tried and acquitted in 2015 for his alleged involvement in the armed nazi Anti-System Front (FAS) gang, is now facing a verdict at a court in València for allegedly raping, molesting and assaulting his former partner.

If found guilty, his sentence could be as much as 38 years in prison.

The Civil Guard dismantled the FAS in 2005. Although police found a grenade launcher at his home, Orts was acquitted along with the other defendants because

of illegal state phonetapping.

In late March 2013, it is alleged, he forced his partner to record a fellatio sex video. Such was the climate of fear that he had managed to instill that she was forced to have sex without consent twice, at home and, on the other occasion, inside a vehicle.

The indictment states that he threatened to shave his victim's head and subject her to kidnap and rape by four men. This, feels, the prosecution, fits in with Ort's violent history and familiarity with weapons.



José Antonio Andrés Orts

BELGIUM | No more cordon sanitaire?

WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET - RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS.

PETER DE ROOVER, federal MP and leader of the nationalist N-VA group in the Belgian parliament's main house, the Chamber, no longer excludes his party collaborating with the far right Vlaams Belang (VB) in its fight to gain complete independence for Flanders as soon as a political majority is reached by both parties at regional level (+50%), with, or without, the approval of the other regions (Brussels & Wallonia).

De Roover (54), a long-time nationalist activist and a federal MP since 2014, can hardly be described as an insignificant backbencher. In recent years, he has played an increasingly important role in the N-VA, often acting as a party spokesman.

"Anyone who wants to help us execute our electoral program, respecting the

rules of democracy, is welcome," he has said. Apparently this open invitation also applies to organisations, persons and parties that do not care too much about democracy. De Roover was not reprimanded by his party leadership.

An N-VA/VB "joint venture" would signal a dramatic end to the *Cordon Sanitaire* that has neutralised the far right in Belgian politics since the late 1980s. This change would be even more remarkable given the aversion of party leader Bart De Wever to the extreme right in general – and the VB in particular, – but the latter's rising popularity (after many years of crisis) probably explains this recent change of course.

Needless to say, VB celebrity Philip Dewinter welcomed De Roover's statement of the N-VA MP with great joy.

GERMANY | Veteran Holocaust Denier

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN IN COLOGNE

IN EARLY OCTOBER, the District Court in Bad Oeynhausen sentenced veteran Holocaust denier Ursula Haverbeck to another eleven months in prison. The unrepentant Haverbeck, now in her late eighties, is still one of the most active Holocaust deniers in Germany even after the ban on her organisation in 2008 by the federal interior ministry.

Haverbeck, who was married to one of the leaders of the National Socialist German Students' League (he died in 1999), has a long history of racist and antisemitic activity including in the *World Union for Protection of Life* whose



Oscar Sjöstedt,
MP for the far
right Sweden
Democrats
Photo: Johan
Fredriksson

SWEDEN | Joke now on far right MP

DANIEL VERGARA REPORTS FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

OSCAR SJÖSTEDT, an MP for the far right Sweden Democrats (SD) and their candidate for minister of finance, has been exposed in a video telling a "joke" about former work colleagues. A few years ago, Sjöstedt worked at a slaughterhouse in Iceland. Among his workmates there were two German nazis. In the video clip, Sjöstedt laughs heartily as he explains how they had kicked dead sheep around while calling them "Die Juden".

The "joke" incident was filmed at a party in 2012 where several other SD members were present, among them Mattias Karlsson, the party's

parliamentary group leader. It has now come to light that Sjöstedt also has form as a racist skinhead following publication of an old school photograph of him. He also went to a white power music concert organised by hardcore nazis in 2005.

Inevitably, these shameful media disclosures have been dismissed by the Sweden Democrats. Sjöstedt merrily laughing at the film clip is just a "tasteless joke", claims Karlsson. Sjöstedt himself pleaded that he went to the nazi concert without knowing who arranged it because he was "interested in a girl".

AUSTRIA | "Civil war not unlikely", says far right leader Strache

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

HEINZ-CHRISTIAN STRACHE, leader of the far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) has evoked a Doomsday scenario of a looming civil war in a state-of-the-nation address "from the FPÖ point of view".

His speech was made two days ahead of Austria's National Day, 26 October, and was meant to pre-celebrate the end of Allied-occupied Austria and the Declaration of Neutrality after World War II. However, Strache used the occasion to ramp up the rhetoric in the ongoing presidential election campaign between FPÖ candidate (Norbert Hofer) and former leader of the Green Party (Alexander Van der Bellen). Worrying about "the paternalisation of the citizens" by "bought media" and the "insidious

oppression" of his party and free thinkers by "mental censorship", Strache speculated about "government-backed censorship" though, "one won't be able to prove it," he added.

Central to his speech, however, was the refugee crisis, which he blamed on the "irresponsible, criminal politics of the German Chancellor [Angela Merkel]", who "not only is the most powerful, but also the most dangerous woman in Europe". Strache then trumpeted his militant "us-against-them" rhetoric by warning that "the unrestrained influx of culturally foreign poverty-immigrants into our social systems will shatter the foundations of Austria's social fabric and this makes a civil war not unlikely in the medium term."

ITALY | Resettlement plan protests raise questions about future

FROM LUCA ORFEO IN ROME

RESIDENTS OF GORINO (pop. 400) protested on 23 October at the arrival of twenty African asylum-seekers (12 women, one of whom was pregnant, and 8 children). After just one day, the local Prefect caved in, deciding that the 12 women would have to be transferred elsewhere.

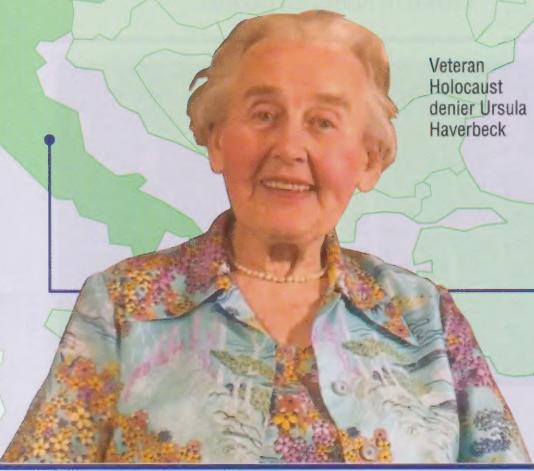
What could be labelled a victory for far right populism and intolerance is, however, more multifaceted. On the one hand, far right parties (especially the Lega Nord, particularly strong in the region), tried politicise the case in its struggle against the centre-left government. On the other, the events are inconsistent with Gorino's own history as it welcomed refugees during the Yugoslav civil war in the 1990s and the owner of the hotel designated to house asylum seekers is of non-EU origin. What angered the inhabitants was, apparently, an arrogant, top-down, decision from the Prefecture simply to commandeer the town's

hotel (the only social venue in the village) without ever consulting the local population.

In past years, settlement of refugees and asylum seekers policy in Italy has schizophrenically oscillated between complete veto-power by local populations or despotic decisions by the central authority, resulting in a relatively small number of cities and towns hosting the majority of asylum seekers and refugees. Interior minister Angelino Alfano's recent resettlement plan should end this imbalance by introducing mechanisms to compensate local communities that decide to host asylum-seekers and refugees. It is clear, though, that, in this complicated and extremely emotional climate, attempts to address the issue will need a long and careful participatory process including the local authorities and populations or they will be doomed to failure.



Heinz-Christian Strache in a state-of-the-nation address



Ursula Haverbeck convicted again

German section was dominated by far right activists. She also participated in Holocaust denying activities in the group Collegium Humanum and, in 2004, was convicted for an article in the journal *Voice of Conscience*. Ongoing legal action resulted in further convictions in 2007, 2009, and 2015 when she called the Holocaust the "most lasting lie in the world" on TV.

While the latest conviction is not yet final, Haverbeck is making use of her old age to produce a situation where she may have to sit out a long prison term and, perhaps, die behind bars giving the German extreme right another martyr at the taxpayers' expense.

CROATIA | Far right ousted or revived?

FROM MARTIN BARIĆ IN ZAGREB

AFTER SEPTEMBER'S parliamentary elections, won again by the conservative Croatian Democratic Union (CDU), the previously prominent far right again faces being marginalised, a development that might lead to the strengthening of ties between the radical right-wing and those disappointed by the CDU's new, moderate direction.

Recently, the most profiled among these far right figures has been expatriate General Željko Glasnović, an army veteran and outspoken anti-Communist and an MP in both the current and previous parliament. On 23 September, he commented on a protest, at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, staged by students against controversial decisions made by the now-retired dean.

Glasnović criticised the students' demands to repeal the dean's recent unlawful dismissal of student representatives with a widely publicised social network message, calling the students "...a gang of Bolshevik Satanists", who ought to be dispersed with "truncheons and pepper spray" and given "a one-way ticket to Pyongyang, where they can exercise quasi-democracy to their hearts' content". Although publicly criticised, Glasnović never retracted his statement.

Early in October, he also took part in concerted public pressure to keep Nazi collaborationist sympathizer Zlatko Hasanbegović in his post as culture minister, the only elected official to do so. The effort has failed and but is starting to demonstrate revived rallying power for the far right.



USA | Extremists charged in mass murder plot

FROM THE CENTRE FOR NEW COMMUNITY IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

ON 14 OCTOBER, the U.S. Department of Justice filed charges against three far right activists for conspiring to use a weapon of mass destruction against Somali immigrants in Garden City, Kansas. The terror plot is the latest in a string of attacks and planned attacks against American Muslims, probably encouraged by the vicious and demagogic rhetoric that has pervaded the U.S. presidential election.

According to federal investigators,

CZECHIA | Roma beaten to death

BY BERNARD RORKE

COMMUNITY LEADERS have called for calm in advance of planned vigils and rallies to protest at the killing of a 27-year-old Romani man in a pizzeria in the Czech town of Žatec.

According to eyewitness accounts, the man who was acting strangely was set upon and severely beaten by at least four men who seemed to be adept at martial arts. When police arrived, the assault continued. According to one eyewitness: "The cops already had him on the ground, the other guys began stomping on him... kicking him. Curses like 'black fucker' were being shouted."

A police statement later said no one had yet been detained for questioning and no charges had been pressed against any of the attackers. The autopsy found, incredibly, that the death of the Romani man was not caused by any third party intervention of the assailants or police officers!

Dorđe Jovanović, president of the European Roma Rights Centre, stated: "Roma lives matter just as much as non-Roma, but experience has shown us that when Roma die, police do not always investigate the case without prejudice and often fail to consider racial motivation. We will continue to monitor the response from police authorities to ensure this is handled correctly."



SERBIA | March banned

BY DAŠKO MILINOVIC IN NOVI SAD

THE NATIONAL SERBIAN FRONT (NSF), the latest addition to Serbia's fascist roster, tried to march through the streets of central Belgrade in early October. Under the guise of "a meeting of patriots, urging the government to drop all plans for further EU integration," this annual meeting of notorious nazi skinheads and veterans of the Serbian far right was set for a Saturday afternoon but it caused a massive negative response from anti-fascists and the general public.

Condemned by everyone in the mainstream of Serbian politics, the march was not even reported to the city authorities to obtain official permission for a public gathering. As all public assemblies in the form of a moving protest must be reported to the authorities at least 5 days before the event, the so-called Serbian March was banned. An anti-fascist gathering, with formal permission for an assembly at the Republic Square (starting point of the fascist march), was also banned by a special police decree with riot squads enforcing the no-gatherings policy on the day. A nazi concert at a secret Belgrade location went undisturbed later that evening, Italian, German and Serbian hate music bands playing to a massive crowd of about 50 people.

"cockroaches" and chose their locations "based on their hatred of these groups, their perception that these groups represent a threat to American society, a desire to inspire other militia groups and a desire to 'wake people up.'

Fortunately, the authorities prevented a horrific outcome but the case serves as a stark reminder that far right extremism remains a real and dangerous phenomenon in the current political climate.

Guest column...

Nigel Farage has attacked us at HOPE not Hate. It's time to draw a line in the sand

Nick Lowles writes

WHEN NIGEL FARAGE used a radio interview, in December, publicly to attack Brendan Cox, husband of the murdered Labour MP Jo Cox, he lashed out in the most deplorable way.

Just six months after Jo was murdered by the nazi, Thomas Mair, the former UKIP leader attempted to pin the extremist tag on Brendan Cox because of his association with HOPE not hate.

Farage told LBC radio that we were an extremist organisation that "masquerades as being lovely and peaceful, but actually pursues violent and undemocratic means."

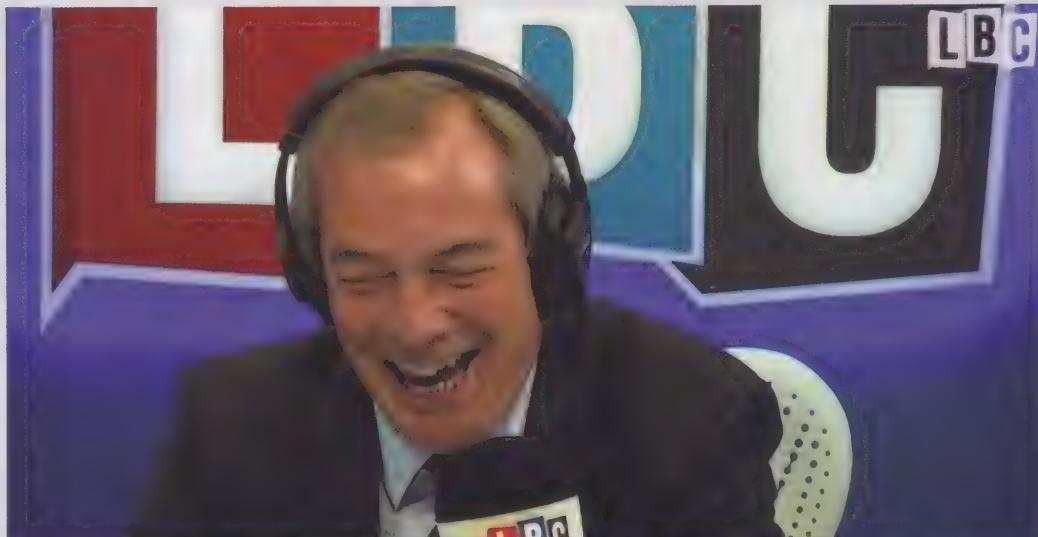
Even by his standards, Farage's comments were disgustingly offensive. Many were outraged. And, not just us.

After we demanded an apology from Farage, his most loyal supporters leapt in. Arron Banks, the millionaire businessman who bankrolled UKIP and the Leave. EU campaign, took to Twitter to call us a "vile organisation". He outrageously claimed we had "organised a mass confrontation" against Farage.

Raheem Kassam, the British editor of the US far right website Breitbart, and Farage's former chief strategist, began crowdfunding to finance research on us.

We have also received an avalanche of abusive and threatening tweets, Facebook posts, e-mails and phone calls. This is how these people operate. They attempt to vilify, abuse and bully their opponents into silence.

Be it Farage in the UK or Donald Trump in the US, they think they can demonise and intimidate their opponents without any thought for the damage it causes or the anger, venom and hatred it incites in their supporters. And, it's a David v Goliath struggle where the other side portrays itself as the underdog yet, in reality, is backed



by an online army and millionaires in the wings.

Farage dislikes us because we have focussed the spotlight on UKIP and played a part in stopping him getting elected in Thanet. He and other UKIP elected officials and party members responded by calling us names and abusing us.

We began targeting UKIP in 2013 as it began adopting a more anti-immigrant stance, specifically whipping up scare stories with claims that 29 million Bulgarians and Romanians would come to the UK. Events since have proved we were right to do so.

When we tried to meet the party leaders to discuss the issue of its growing extremism, they failed to turn up to their own meeting. Not only that, the party's conference then passed a motion banning any UKIP member from supporting HOPE not Hate.

Over the next three years we exposed its racist and homophobic councillors, the strongly anti-Muslim views of some of its MEPs as well as links with European far right parties, and highlighted the lies and exaggerations in its election leaflets.

Of course Farage and supporters like Kassam conveniently ignore the community campaigning we carry out across the UK.

We rely on a network of thousands of volunteers up and down the country, bringing together tens of thousands of people to celebrate a shared sense of community across apparent cultural and religious divides.

From family fun days, picnics, food festivals and encounters between those of different faiths and none, we have enabled people to celebrate all that they have in common.

Part of this work was our national #MoreInCommon campaign, launched in response to the murder of Jo Cox (with the support of her family) and to counter some of the negativity surrounding the EU referendum campaigning. We hosted 85 events across the UK, bringing communities together.

Earlier this year we stood fast with Birmingham's Muslim community, creating a unity pledge with all the city's main leaders, in response to a threatened far right demo by Pegida UK.

Last summer, we did the same with the Jewish and other community members in Golders Green, north London, dressing

the entire area in gold and green ribbons, before a nazi event.

In Merthyr Tydfil we organised a football match between a local team and Portuguese and Polish migrants as a bridge-building exercise.

As we have seen so graphically this year, the lies of the populist right have consequences. They poison debate, bully people into silence and whip up anger. That's why it's time to draw a line in the sand, and why we have demanded a retraction and an apology from Nigel Farage. He cannot keep getting away unchallenged with his lies any longer.

This issue is far bigger, however, than just the words Farage used against us. It is about the politics of hope and hate. As Edmund Burke wrote: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." So if you are horrified by the rise of the far right, whether that be rightwing populists or more traditional fascists, then we urge you do what you can to support those, like ourselves, who want to protect communities from further division and hatred.

■ Nick Lowles is Chief Executive of HOPE not hate, he can be followed on Twitter at @lowles_nick and contacted on email at nick@hopenothate.org.uk



Breitbart News Network
executive chairman
Stephen Bannon
Photo: Don Invink

Bannon's Empire

"Alt-Right" White Supremacy in the White House and Beyond

In the first staff announcement of his coming Presidency, Donald Trump has appointed *Breitbart News Network* executive chairman Stephen Bannon to the post of "chief strategist and senior counsellor" to the White House.

Bannon, a key figure in the murky and seedy world of online white nationalism, will now have the ear of the most politically inexperienced President in history. This makes him one of the most powerful people in America.

Bannon does not intend to stop there. He has announced plans to ride the wave of what outgoing President Obama has called a "crude sort of nationalism" assailing Western democracies and to consolidate his media empire in Europe. His success would further embolden and legitimise one of the most troubling developing currents in American politics: the so-called 'Alt Right'.

Breitbart News Network

From the moment of its genesis *Breitbart News Network* intended to upset established order. Building on foundations laid by the off-the-wall reactionary radio shock jock Rush Limbaugh, the right-wing cable TV channel *Fox News* and conservative news site *The Drudge Report*, columnist Andrew Breitbart launched *Breitbart.com* in 2007.

He did so with the explicit aim of waging war on the elite liberal establishment and big government and immediately disturbed the once safe and settled waters of the traditional American media.

The *Breitbart.com* site was notable for its aggressive attacks on both the Obama administration and mainstream Republican politicians on such topics as immigration and "globalism".

While it garnered some notoriety for releasing heavily edited and misrepresentative undercover videos of civil rights groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), *Breitbart's* in-your-face outlet remained a relatively unknown phenomenon until his death in 2012. *Breitbart.com* was then taken over by the opportunist former Goldman-Sachs banker and right-wing documentarian Stephen Bannon.

Bannon, a man who has openly cited Nazi propagandist Leni Riefenstahl as an influence, immediately set about radically increasing the confrontational, wilfully offensive tone of *Breitbart*.

"Steve ran the site and controlled the content as a dictator, not only limiting the expression of his journalists but also purposefully changing the narrative to increase vitriol, playing to the fears of his readers" wrote former *Breitbart* spokesman Kurt Bardella in *The Hill* newspaper.

Bannon claims this new direction was motivated by deep populist disgust for established Democrats and Republicans. "I'm a Leninist", Bannon told the *Daily Beast* in 2014: "Lenin wanted to destroy the state, and that's my goal too. I want to bring everything crashing down, and destroy all of today's establishment". Nice chap.

Bannon's attack on "today's establishment" has included publishing a piece titled "Hoist it High and Proud: the Confederate Flag Proclaims a Glorious Heritage" following the racially-motivated massacre of nine worshippers



in a South Carolina church last year, as well as articles titled "Would you rather your child had feminism or cancer?" and "Bill Kristol: Republican spoiler, renegade Jew".

Breitbart – whose "commentators" now feature on BBC flagship programmes like *Newsnight* – also continues to pursue a poisonous campaign against Chobani yogurt company owner, Hamdi Ulukaya, for employing Afghan and Iraqi refugees legally living within the United States.

The Alt Right

Bannon's caustic output has found a dedicated audience in the loose ragbag of ultra-conservatives, nazis, conspiracy theorists and internet trolls now calling themselves the "Alt Right".

Ben Shapiro, *Breitbart*'s former Editor-at-Large, has written that Bannon has "openly embraced the white supremacist alt-right" and has actively pushed "white ethno-nationalism as a legitimate response to political correctness", turning the comment section into "a cesspool for white supremacist mememakers" meanwhile.

The Alt Right uneasily straddles both the hard-line fringe of the Republican Party and the centuries-old American tradition of noxious white supremacy.

The term originates with Richard Spencer, head of the innocuously-named National Policy Institute (NPI), who founded AlternativeRight.com in 2010.

Spencer has casually called for the forced sterilisation and removal of minority groups from the US and the NPI has been categorised as one of the most important "academic racist" organisations in the world by the Southern Poverty Law Centre.

Whilst adhering to no single ideology, the Alt-Right scene markets its ugly, resentful racism and misogyny as a kind of identity politics for embittered white males who feel besieged by multiculturalism and political correctness.

Its tech-savvy followers use social media to lash out at a perceived establishment coalition of mainstream politicians, big city liberals and black, women's and LGBT rights movements. An infamous example is the appalling racial harassment campaign pursued against actor Leslie Jones.

Whilst *Breitbart* has many readers that are not actively involved in this burgeoning scene, the interchange between the two is clear. In an interview with the *Daily Beast* in August 2016, Spencer said: "Breitbart has elective affinities with the alt-right and the alt-right has clearly influenced Breitbart. In this way, Breitbart has acted as a "gateway" to alt-right ideas and writers".

Donald Trump

Bannon latched onto the campaign of Donald Trump from its outset, seeing in him an outsider who shared his talent for wild overstatement and contempt for the disadvantaged. He also, according to Shapiro, saw a route to power and subsequently turned the outlet into "Trump Pravda" in order to create a stepping-stone to Trump. "Breitbart publicly burned bridges with everyone to maintain its Trump loyalty. That was Bannon, a scorched-earth personal opportunist."

Breitbart was prepared to support Trump's most dangerous claims. Trump's proposed total ban of Muslim immigration was dubbed an "Extraordinary, Brilliant Move", and several articles were published defending its constitutionality. In doing so *Breitbart* helped mobilise the Alt Right in support of Trump, becoming a vocal and dedicated minority in his campaign.

Bannon's gamble paid off and Trump, who infamously branded the mainstream media "crooked", "dishonest", "disgusting" and "scum" during his campaign, rewarded Bannon's sole unquestioning support by appointing him his CEO of his campaign in a shock move this August.

The union of the two men provided an enormous boost to *Breitbart*'s profile. According to analytics group NewsWhip, *Breitbart* outperformed many mainstream media outlets to score the fourth largest number of hits by internet users on election night.

Since Trump's election success, *Breitbart* has announced plans to expand its US offices by hiring more journalists and producing regular podcasts and videos.

When Trump rewarded Bannon's considerable service in the campaign by elevating him to senior advisor to the President, the appointment was met with widespread jubilation by white supremacists and nazis.

According to the Anti-Defamation League, the infamous former KKK leader David Duke called the selection of Bannon "excellent" and stated that Bannon is "basically creating the ideological aspects of where we're going". Richard Spencer, Jared Taylor of American Renaissance and Rocky Suhayda of the American Nazi Party have all voiced their belief that Bannon will hold Trump to his campaign rhetoric on immigration.

Breitbart in Europe

Bannon's now seems intent on capitalising on the tide of anti-politics sweeping the West, announcing new offices in non-English speaking regions in Europe. "We [Breitbart] believe

strongly that there is a global tea party movement", Bannon said at a conference in the Vatican in 2014. "We were the first group to get in and start reporting on things like UKIP and Front National... The central thing that binds us all together is a centre-right populist movement". Following Trump's success, this is now wholly plausible.

Breitbart has already gained a toehold in British politics by establishing a revolving door into UKIP and the Leave.EU movement. Controversial UK editor Raheem Kassam temporarily left his post to advise Nigel Farage in 2014, foreshadowing Bannon's career change.

Kassam has since left *Breitbart* again to run a short-lived and divisive UKIP leadership campaign, borrowing his slogan – "Make Britain Great Again" – from Donald Trump.

The umbilical relationship between the party's leadership and *Breitbart* can be seen in the flatly demagogic columns of Farage and the assumed next UKIP leader, Paul Nuttall MEP. Other authors include UKIP's influential financier and Leave.EU founder Arron Banks.

As a result of Kassam effectively turning *Breitbart*'s London office into a mouthpiece for the most stridently anti-immigration wing of UKIP, pernicious Alt Right currents have taken root in UKIP's youth wing.

The official "Young Independence" Facebook group has been frequently inundated with wildly antisemitic and racist posts, interspersed with Alt Right terminology and images. The party's former head of media, Alexandra Phillips, told Buzzfeed: "It is a known thing, especially when you speak to young UKIP activists; Raheem and *Breitbart* are the best tool".

Under a Trump/Bannon Presidency the relationship with the current UKIP leadership looks certain to draw ever closer. Bannon was, of course, pulling the strings when Farage became the first foreign politician to meet Trump after his election, also flying Kassam and Banks in with him.

Notable in his absence is Trump critic Paul Nuttall. Banks has repeatedly stated his intention to launch a new right-wing movement, utilising the modern media techniques of his Leave.EU campaign, and it is entirely possible he will embark on this new venture with Bannon and Kassam alongside the newly empowered Farage, leaving Nuttall and the fractured, riven UKIP behind.

Breitbart has now announced plans to launch sites in France and Germany. *Breitbart* has long been a vocal supporter of Marine Le Pen's xenophobic, authoritarian Front National and will seek to help her capitalise on the



(left) Nigel Farage became the first foreign politician to meet Trump after his election. Photo from Nigel Farage's Twitter page.

(below) An alt-right crowd cheering US president-elect with Hitler salutes



legitimisation of the far right politics and the economic nationalism of the so-called 'Trump Effect'.

With presidential elections in April and the dismal 4% approval rating of incumbent President Hollande, the attack-dog tactics of *Breitbart* could be important. An alliance is already in the making. Marine Le Pen was quick to express her support of Trump. When Bannon described her hardline niece, Marion Maréchal-Le Pen, as "the new rising star" in the French Alt Right, she

quickly responded with a pledge to work with Bannon.

Breitbart's German arm is expected to exploit anti-refugee sentiment by supporting the openly anti-Muslim and anti-elite Alternative for Germany party (AfD) ahead of the German parliamentary elections in September 2017. The AfD, which is hoping to win enough seats in the Bundestag to become Germany's third largest party, has been keen to establish a relationship with the Trump administration, having

sent one congratulatory telegram after another on Trump's win.

The AfD branch in Heidelberg was clearly delighted at the prospect of *Breitbart* in Germany, tweeting: "Breitbart is coming to Germany. Fantastic! That'll cause an earthquake in our stale media landscape."

However, the natural counterparts of *Breitbart*'s Alt Right readership lie in the European hard core – the Greek Nazis of Golden Dawn and the fascist Jobbik in Hungary.

Breitbart has declined to condemn these groups, and its comment boards brim with active supporters. Bannon's tacit endorsement of the cancerous ideologies thriving in his audience enables them to spread and claim legitimacy. What has thus far been a fierce but disempowered fringe could, over time, make inroads into both the American and European mainstream.

What Next?

The ascension of Bannon from the political fringe to the Oval Office is the most resounding affirmation of the "Alt Right" imaginable. That this will occur as the first black President of the United States vacates the White House is particularly vile.

We cannot know at this moment whether the populist momentum pushing the West rightwards will be sustained or whether new audiences will prove receptive to the *Breitbart* message. What is assured is that Bannon and his empire will do all they can to continue the slide and, in doing so, could provide a major platform for the very worst that America and Europe has to offer.

The need to combat those who would seek to profit from spreading fear and suspicion had never been more apparent.

The hardcore of the Alt Right might never be won over, but those that encounter its sick messages can. The racism, homophobia and misogyny promulgated by the likes of Bannon and his followers may have helped elect a President, but we cannot allow it to become the norm.

With dedicated, positive campaigning and the constant refutation of their message we can help expose their lies for what they are.

Bannon has the putrid stench of fascism but there is too much at stake for us to resign ourselves to breathing it in.

America's most violent Klan group in crisis

One of the USA's largest and most notorious Ku Klux Klan (KKK) groups, the Loyal White Knights (LWK), has been thrown into bloody crisis and infighting just weeks after its inner workings and activist base was exposed following a 15-month infiltration by HOPE not hate. By Joe Mulhall

A RECENT article by the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC), a leading civil rights organisation based in Alabama, shows how, in the months following the Hnh exposé, the Loyal White Knights has been "falling apart at the seams" due to an "ongoing pattern of leadership difficulties and dissension in the ranks that have plagued LWK for months."

The tension and mistrust spilled over into violence in early December, with Richard Dillon, a member from Indiana, multiply stabbed and William Hagen, the LWK's leader in California, left with two black eyes and cuts to his face. Hagen was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill while the group's leader, Chris Barker, was charged with aiding and abetting assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill and inflicting serious injury.

This has all come in the wake of an explosive Hnh report that exposed an LWK plot to ignite race war in America.

The group has extreme ideas that support violence against gays and ethnic minorities. We acquired the group's membership list that, *The Guardian/Observer* was able to con rm, included a serving police officer.

Initial Fall Out

In advance of our investigation being made public by *The Observer*, we e-mailed all supporters of the LWK KKK informing them of our plans to publish. While



some responded with racist slurs, others denied their links with the KKK.

Unsurprisingly, the responses on the LWK's closed members' forum were much more panicked as members tried to work out the scale and source of the leak. Before long, they realised that hundreds of supporters had received e-mails and the finger pointing began.

Ironically, just hours before our e-mail to supporters Chris Barker, the leader of the LWK, had sent out a message calling for a relaxation of the vetting process for new members, a process both he and his wife had waived for our infiltrator. He wrote: "Stop being so ruff [sic] unless we know they are nigger lovers".

Soon after, fully aware that it was their own fault for letting HOPE not hate

in, Barker and his wife Amanda began to deflect blame. Instead of admitting they were responsible, they claimed the whole thing was a fake, dreamt up by two disaffected ex-members, "Chris and Jacqueline from Georgia" (who had been thrown out the Klan for using methamphetamine).

Amanda wrote on the closed forum: "They are trying to scare people. Don't let them get to you. As for both of them will be banished and harshly dealt with." The Grand Dragon for Georgia joined in and "confirmed" it was the ex-members.

Of course, Barker and Amanda knew the truth and were lying to their membership to save their own skins. While telling members it was embittered meth addicts, Barker had

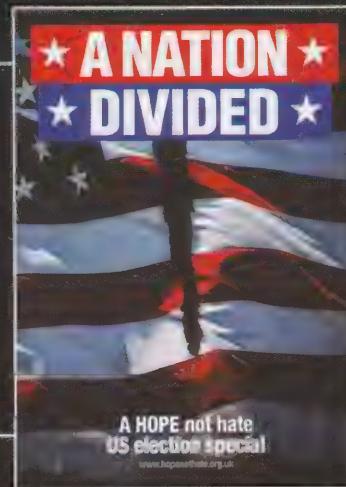
identified the real infiltrator and e-mailed him saying: "FUCK YOU Commie Scum".

Barker and his wife were clearly desperate to make sure the membership did not realise it was their fault and were happy to lay the blame, and any possible repercussions, on two innocent ex-members.

Once *The Guardian/Observer* and we published our exposé, we circulated the articles to all members making it clear that Barker was at fault.

As the SPLC's article shows, the LWK is currently in crisis and being torn asunder by infighting and mistrust. There are other numerous underlying reasons for the current crisis, some of which go back years, but HOPE not hate is proud to have played a role in deepening this crisis. ●

HOPE not hate has spent more than a year infiltrating one of America's most notorious KKK groups, linked to stabbings, cross burnings and calling for President Obama to be hanged.
You can read the full article in our US special election edition here
www.hopenothate.org.uk/subscribe/



Nuttall's UKIP:

After a prolonged and deep crisis, UKIP has elected Paul Nuttall to succeed Nigel Farage as leader with a landslide 62.6% of the vote. Nuttall must now begin to rebrand the party after the PR disaster of the last six months and assemble a fresh platform to justify UKIP's continued existence post-Brexit. But in which direction will Nuttall steer the UKIP vehicle? Asks David Lawrence

Nuttall's Populism

As UKIP's deputy leader, Paul Nuttall served two primary purposes: spearheading its campaign to win over disillusioned Labour and BNP voters in post-industrial towns and staking out a radical populist right position to provide a voice for the most reactionary and hardline elements within the party.

Nuttall used his leadership acceptance speech to announce his intention to "replace the Labour party and make UKIP "the patriotic voice of the working people". An ardent Thatcherite, Nuttall's approach to championing the interests of "left-behind" communities boils down to little more than exploiting fears around immigration and utilising his working class, politically incorrect persona to justify punitive policies and alarmist language around Islam.

For example, he has justified an "Australian-style" points system for immigrants by warning of ebola outbreaks and a coordinated Muslim plot to "breed out" Europeans. He has labelled the EU's response to the refugee crisis as "freedom of movement of Jihad" and called on the government to reveal the location of refugees legally living within the UK to prevent "British Cologne" sexual attacks.

He has called for return of the death penalty and repeal of the Criminal Justice Act 1967 in order to deliberately make prison conditions harsher, opposes same-sex marriage and would restrict the rights to roam of Roma people supposedly to protect the rights of "indigenous, taxpaying, hardworking" people.

As UKIP leader, Nuttall has signalled he will continue to juxtapose such "common sense" positions with those of "barmy" London-centric politicians, claiming in his acceptance speech that Corbyn's Labour is more interested in the "dinner party" topics of climate change and fair trade than immigration and crime.

Until Labour can establish a clear and coherent policy around immigration, the defining issue on Brexit, UKIP have

what Nuttall has described as "an open goal" in the Labour heartlands. These words have been reaffirmed by Labour's dire but expected results in the Sleaford by-election.

The Balancing Act

It is likely Nuttall will smooth over his most extreme tendencies to deliver his central campaign promise of uniting the party. Whilst Farage actively sidelined opponents and promoted the extreme elements loyal to him, such as Raheem Kassam, Nuttall has remained friendly to both sides of the conflict. He must now attempt to appease both the far right Faragists without alienating with the more moderate, libertarian faction headed by Douglas Carswell MP, Neil Hamilton AM, Suzanne Evans and Patrick O'Flynn.

His early leadership has been testament to this difficult balancing act; he has appointed O'Flynn and Evans to influential posts, and simultaneously promoted hardliners such as Bill Etheridge, Mike Hookem and Ray Finch to policy positions.

Nuttall has already conceded on policies such as NHS privatisation and the death penalty but has also doubled-down on the burqa ban and vowed to delve into issues "that the other parties are too scared to touch".

In the long term, it seems unlikely that Nuttall can maintain this uneasy alliance. Whilst Farage's sheer force of personality held UKIP together, Nuttall is considered to be an indecisive and easily influenced leader by UKIP insiders. Farage holds enormous sway amongst hardliners and the grassroots and his new role as the party's "frontline spokesman" is destined to overshadow Nuttall's leadership. Despite his protestations, Nuttall remains at the mercy of Farage's popularity and megalomania.

It is almost certainly due to pressure from the Faragists that, despite expectations, Carswell has not been promoted to a policy-making position.

If Farage can continue to manipulate Nuttall to marginalise the moderates, UKIP is likely to drift ever rightwards. It seems only a matter of time before the startlingly illiberal views of the likes of Etheridge, Farage and Nuttall himself once again start to alienate the libertarians and old cracks reappear.

Banks or Bust?

UKIP is in dire financial straits; after haemorrhaging funders, it was able to raise just £43,000 in the three months prior to September, less than half the amount raised by the BNP. UKIP is also destined to lose its vital EU funding.

Unfortunately for Nuttall this means scrambling to keep UKIP's largest funder and Leave.EU founder Arron Banks aboard. Banks has criticised Nuttall for wanting to "push [UKIP] to the centre" instead of standing on a "radical" platform. He also has zero interest in party unity and is a sworn enemy of Carswell and Hamilton, pledging to abandon UKIP if the pair remain. He has stated recently that his time in UKIP is "probably" over.

Banks has long spoken of bankrolling a "right-wing Momentum" that would utilise the modern marketing techniques of his Leave.EU campaign to appeal to young voters. More recently he has spoken of fielding 200 independent candidates against "career politicians" in order to "drain the swamp" of UK politics. Banks' funding is so vital that if he does abandon UKIP – probably taking Raheem Kassam, Stephen Woolfe and potentially Farage with him – Nuttall would have to display remarkable resourcefulness to keep UKIP as a major force in politics.

With all major parties preparing for a General Election in 2017, it is possible Banks will hold off pulling the financial plug just yet, and instead exert enormous pressure on Nuttall to force out the Carswell clique, abandon the centre ground and embrace the hard right of the party.

Unite or Right?



Breitbart

Also of increasing influence is the Breitbart News Network, an outlet that, under Trump's "chief strategist" Stephen Bannon, has gained infamy as an online refuge of "alt-right" white supremacists.

Bannon has spoken of forging a "global Tea Party" that links Trump, Brexit voters, and the Front National in France and has already established a revolving door into UKIP. Nuttall and Farage both have columns on Breitbart.com, and divisive London Editor Kassam moves seemingly at will between the two organisations.

Nuttall, previously critical of Trump, was notably absent when Bannon flew Farage, Kassam and Banks to become the first UK politicians to meet Trump. This has led speculation that Banks and Bannon will embark on their new venture together with Farage in tow, leaving Nuttall and the sputtering UKIP vehicle behind.

On the other hand, Bannon and Trump could hand Nuttall a lifeline in the case of Banks' exit. Nuttall has already performed a sharp U-Turn and scrambled to ingratiate himself with the President-elect, describing himself as "happy he's got over the line".

Moderates like Evans understandably want to distance themselves from Breitbart's incendiary populism but Nuttall finds common ground both with Bannon's Islamophobia and his enthusiasm for forming links with the European extreme right. If Nuttall can appease Farage and successfully forge his own links with Bannon and Trump, UKIP as a party (as opposed to Farage) could secure a privileged position with the most powerful far right elements in the world.

Little is certain for Nuttall's UKIP, however. As he prepares to embark on an all-out assault on the former Labour heartlands, his desire to do so with UKIP's moderate voices onboard seems likely to fail.

Provided it can stay afloat financially, Nuttall's own radical populism – influenced by the intense pressure exerted by Farage and Banks from within and Bannon from without – could see UKIP charge into disadvantaged post-industrial constituencies with a discriminatory, no-holds barred campaign that would further exacerbate divisions in these communities. ●

Ten reasons to oppose the new UKIP leader



2. He believes there is a secret coordinated Muslim plot to become a majority in Europe.



3. In a speech in the European Parliament Nuttall labelled the response of the EU to the refugee crisis as "freedom of movement of Jihad".



5. Nuttall has called for the NHS to be privatised.



6. He wants a 31% flat rate of tax, meaning the rich pay far less.



8. Nuttall believes climate change is a "hare-brained theory".



9. Was one of only 14 MEPs to vote against a crackdown on the illegal ban ivory trade.

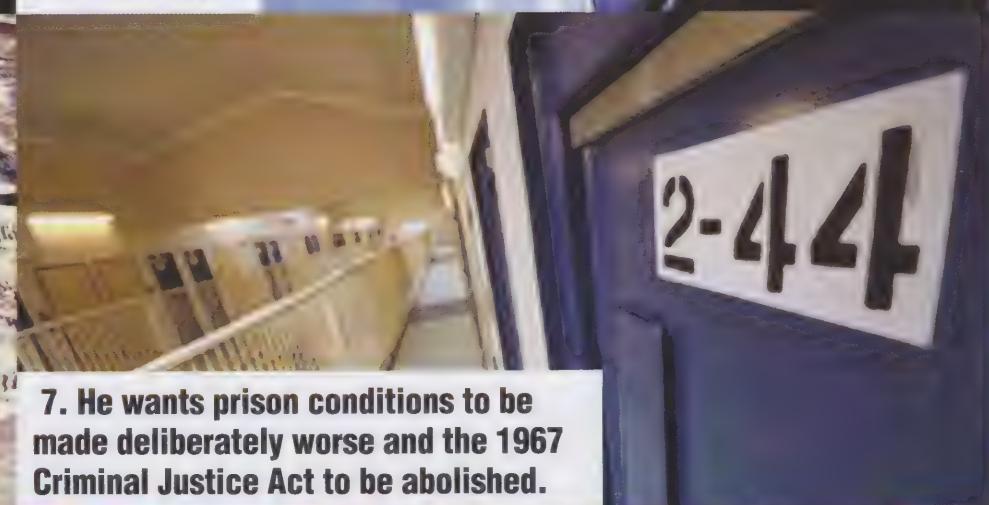
Oppose order



1. Has strongly supported Farage's "Breaking Point" billboard.



4. He wants to ban the burqa.



7. He wants prison conditions to be made deliberately worse and the 1967 Criminal Justice Act to be abolished.



10. Opposes same-sex marriages.

NATIONAL ACTION

The British government has proscribed the nazi group National Action (NA) and declared it a terrorist organisation. Here, HOPE not hates profiles the organisation that is attracting a new generation of militant and violent fascists.



Politics of National Action

National Action (NA) is a mish-mash of misanthropy and hatred. It is a nazi group that embraces all forms of extreme hatred, from venerating Adolf Hitler to its members calling themselves "white jihadis" and even to engaging in juvenile forms of situationism. It has a deep hatred for Jews, other minorities and liberal, democratic and progressive society.

Last year, NA's leader said he wanted to have genocide in this country that would take the form of Cambodia's "Killing Fields".

History of National Action

Its roots lie mainly in the old British National Party's (BNP) youth wing, young men who grew disillusioned with the decline of the electoral far right and with the watering down of the BNP's hard-line policies so that it could pursue political respectability.

Most of the leading lights in NA have been members of the BNP. Some were expelled. Others drifted away.

National Action is the brainchild of Ben Raymond (27), and Alex Davies (22). Davies was in the Young BNP and Raymond ran his own online group full of distorted and confused ramblings where he developed an ideology that attracted Davies. Others followed. It was meant to be a "youth movement".

National Action has been the master of manipulation of social media, organising campaigns of harassment and intimidation against its opponents better than any other far right group. Liverpool MP Luciana Berger was subjected to literally thousands of tweets after National Action launched "Operation Jew Bitch" to target her.

National Action member Garron Helm was sentenced to four weeks in prison at the end of 2014 for his part in harassing the Jewish MP. The group has between 50 and 100 hardcore members.

Leadership of National Action

- **Ben Raymond.** Founding member.
 - **Alex Davies.** Failed university student, most famous for being humiliated by a 13-year-old girl earlier this year. Began political life in the BNP.
 - **Ashley Bell.** Former EDL member. His girlfriend recently came runner-up in the group's "Miss Hitler" competition.
 - **Mark James.** Expelled by the BNP for eating peanuts at a branch meeting. Runs Sunday morning fight clubs in his local park.
 - **Garron Helm.** Sentenced to four weeks in prison at the end of 2014 for his part in harassing Liverpool MP Luciana Berger.
 - **Jack Renshaw.** Kicked out of university for his hateful views. Currently applying to join the army. Former BNP member.
 - **Kevin Layzell**
- Former BNP member, the group's link man to Polish nazi gangs.

National Action Activities

The group focuses on online intimidation, creating "outrage" by targeting individuals as well as attaching itself to street protests by other far right groups. It has also held a series of "camps" where ideology is discussed and violence/ self-defence taught.

The group has an obsession with being media-profiled and has driven up publicity this year by releasing a number of stories of its own activities to the media, in particular a recent "white zone" sticker campaign in Newbury.

Members of the group were photographed earlier this year giving Nazi salutes at the former Buchenwald concentration camp



(above) Ben Raymond National Action's founding member
(below) Zack Davies, who attacked a dentist in a supermarket with a knife and hammer



Links to violence / members convicted

It currently has members before the courts, facing charges in relation to violence or encouraging others to commit acts of violence.

Its most high-profile adherent was the Mold, North Wales, attacker Zack Davies, who assaulted a dentist in a supermarket with a knife and hammer in 2015. The group tried desperately to disassociate itself from Davies when it became apparent that the authorities would begin to look into its wider activities.

Ryan Fleming, a National Action activist from West Yorkshire, also has a conviction for the sexual assault of a vulnerable young male.

Jack Renshaw, a student kicked out of Manchester Metropolitan University last year, is on record twice in what HOPE not hate believes is a call for attacks on Jews. In one recording he advises others to train themselves in shooting.

Glorifying Jo Cox's murder

The group has adopted Thomas Mair's quote: "Death to traitors, freedom for Britain" as its strapline online. Numerous National Action members have adopted Mair as a martyr and encouraged others to do the same.

Links to international nazi groups

The group has visited far right extremists in Germany, France, Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia and is particularly close to the Polish fascist group, the NOP (National Rebirth of Poland).



Summary

We cautiously welcome the ban on NA but we feel much of what has now apparently come to a head with this group could have been dealt with sooner and quicker under existing laws.

The group has given the impression over the last 18-24 months that it is preparing for a violent conflict and has expressed itself with increasingly violent and hateful rhetoric and also with violence on its demonstrations. ●

Members of National Action were photographed earlier this year giving Nazi salutes at the former Buchenwald concentration camp



ROGUES GALLERY



BEN RAYMOND



ALEX DAVIES

CURRENTLY
FACING POLICE
CHARGES



CASTLEFORD MAN



ASHLEY BELL

MARK JAMES



GARRON HELM



JACK RENSHAW



LIVERPOOL MAN



FRANCESCO FONTANA



LIAM PINKHAM



KEVIN LAYZELL



SAM MAYHEW



CAMBRIDGE MAN



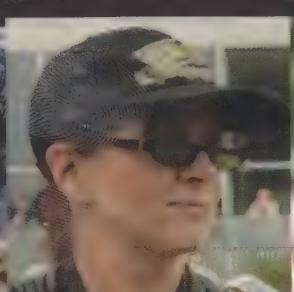
MICHAEL WOODBRIDGE



JAMES MAC



STE DUMONT



JANE MILLER



LARRY NUNN



RADZIU REKKE



ANDREW CLARKE

Nazis get into cake

By Duncan Cahill

TWO YEARS AGO, one Sarah Kalkowski was a preoccupation for anti-fascists in Camden Town, the small cosmopolitan corner of north London, synonymous with overpriced pints, down at heel pop stars, *al fresco* diners and gawking, browsing visitors and tourists.

This preoccupation had a habit of following her around. Similar, scandalous rumours had driven Kalkowski and her Italian boyfriend David from her native Germany. After all, all that high profile vegan Kalkowski (known as Kim) did was to open a vegan cake shop in a hip and trendy part of London.

Investigations by a number of outlets (including the equally hip *Vice*) threw up an interesting tale of Italian fascists domiciled in one of Britain's most multicultural areas, the part-time residence of a certain Roberto Fiore and plenty of evidence that Kim's boyfriend and employee, David Lavezzoli, had more than just a passing flirtation with violent gangs of fascists both in his native Italy and also those now domiciled in multicultural Camden Town.

There was even talk of Bonehead gigs in Camden boozers, windows being smashed in the dead of night and Kim's shop 'Cakes 'N' Treats, the subject of a boycott by residents.

Fast-forward over two years down to the English seaside resort of Margate, in Kent. For years, the town was in popular decline. Until recently, London councils had been filling empty seafront accommodation with emergency overspill.

Recently, however, the place has undergone a renaissance with the reopening of the £20m publicly funded historic Dreamland amusement park and a contemporary art gallery.

Earlier this year the town was christened "Shoreditch-on-Sea" as a wave of new indie-shops breathed life into the Old Town and beaten up old pubs threw out their drunks and began serving coffee on tablecloths, cask ales and posh lagers.

There's a smell of fresh paint and new



money in the town now thanks, in the main, to the decision to doff its cap to two of its favourite artistic notoriety: Joseph Turner and Tracey Emin.

Margate is no longer just another seaside town that forgot to close down. And, yes and, even a vegan cake shop and an Italian delicatessen-cum-restaurant moved in where previously there was just a Pizza Hut and an old bakers.

The cake shop, titled Seaside Cake Parlour is owned by one Kim Stickling – the maiden name of the aforementioned Kalkowski – and the nearby Italian restaurant, L'Olivio, is owned by one David [Carnevale] aka David Lavezzoli both of Camden Town infamy.

Even though they claim they are no longer together, Kalkowski and Lavezzoli live together and their businesses are registered to their address. Both are only a few metres away from each other. Committed vegan Kalkowski also works in David's rather non-vegan restaurant.

This new renaissance for the town has also bought Italian and Swedish boneheads to the town. Boneheads are now regular visitors to Margate – 77 miles from London – to consult their cakie specialists, David Lavezzoli and Kim Kalkowski.

We now have dozens of photographs that show despite her claims, Kim is not exactly the continual accidental acquaintance of violent fascists and nazis and the couple recently attended the Blood & Honour 'ISD' concert in Cambridgeshire.

The seemingly unsuspecting landlords

and landladies, finally enjoying a renaissance of the seaside boozers now often play host to gangs of tattooed Boneheads from abroad. One pub even put out a picture of their heavily tattooed Italian neighbour and restaurateur on social media wearing an England shirt.

By all accounts, certain Boneheads like nothing more than trudging along the sandy beach in their large boots as if they were following in the footsteps of the original Vikings.

Lavezzoli, who appears to be the child of some kind of aristocratic Italian hippies, loves tattoos, so it should come as no surprise that the notorious Swedish tattooist Björn Stam is another regular visitor to the couple.

We visited the cake shop in Margate, but it was closed. Kalkowski, now using her maiden name Stickling, was out of the country and did not return our calls. Neither was L'Olivio open.

However, Lavezzoli was available to chat on the phone. He acknowledged he is the same David Lavezzoli who had run around with Italian fascists and hooligans in London, but denied he was a fascist himself. "I just have lots of fascist friends. And friends from the left side," he told us.

When asked about the numerous photographs that exist of him entertaining nazis, Lavezzoli suggested we visited him to find out, when he could then cut off our testicles and feed them to us.

As of yet we have not decided whether we prefer them sautéed, roasted or battered.

"In search of the

By Matthew Collins

IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, a small group of inhabitants of the British far right took itself away for a weekend to chew over its own failings.

The conference venue was, of course, "top secret" and the attendees were pampered and showered with praise for being the *crème de la crème* of the British right-wing extremism.

Each of them, they were told by host Larry Nunn, had been handpicked for his leadership qualities and organising abilities. They were being whisked away, it seems, from their frontline duties to a comfortable weekend retreat to discuss "unity," the most inappropriate, overused and clapped-out cliché in far right politics.

The absentees' list was almost as interesting as that of the attendees. Most intriguingly, there was no Richard Edmonds, the now elder statesman of British fascism, merely entrusted with guarding the memory of others' achievements as opposed to his own.

There was no room either for the seemingly exiled Stephen Lennon, founder of the English Defence League (EDL) and now the lonesome leading light of the failed German import Pegida UK.

Nor was there a place at the table for Britain First's leader Paul Golding who cuts a frustrating vein of curiosity for nazis and counter-jihadists alike.

This was a *nazi* conference, a twenty-four string gathering of the pet-projects and protégés of Nunn, the Northampton-based money-man whose cash – and growing fanaticism since the demise of the British National Party (BNP) – has seen him fund a whole host of outings and events, most notably of the teen nazi gang National Action and a plethora of spin-offs and training camps.

Now in his twilight years, Nunn no longer seems to care whose company he keeps and encourages and nor does he care who sees it.

His offshoot, "Western Spring," is now the "go to" for far right beggars



needing cash and guidance in "raising consciousness and action among white British people of their ethnic and cultural interests in an ever more hostile world."

And so, the nazi pilgrims trudged along to the four stars Highgate House, a 17th Century country house hotel in Nunn's native Northamptonshire. The conference room was dramatically

"swept" for hidden bugs by former soldier Jeremy Bedford Turner and Nunn boasted to guests as they arrived about fancy, Egyptian cotton, dressing gowns and a late bar being available to them. All at his expense.

There were none of the "leaders" present that Nunn so enthused about when describing his audience as "twenty

e lost past’’ *

... .



(left) Larry Nunn (above left to right) Chris Roberts, Peter Rushton and Mark Adrian Collett

of the most experienced and influential people in British nationalism.”

In fact, it was just a collection of mainly low-level former BNP personnel who fell on their swords during the party’s demise. All were associated with Nunn’s other obsession, the Jeremy Bedford-Turner-administered London Forum, where far right relics meet to gather dust.

In the main, then, it was a pitiable ensemble of old men and one woman, almost all of whom had, at some stage or another, been factional rivals when they were tearing their former party apart.

Each attendee voiced dismay at the BNP’s decline, the ongoing criminal vulgarity of the National Front and the urgency of filling the vacuum created by the increasingly irrelevant and disorganised United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP).

Chris Roberts, former London BNP organiser for the BNP and himself a former City gent, lamented the failure of former MEP Andrew Brons’ project, the British Democratic Party, which he himself had for a short time entertained until it was suggested that Richard Barnbrook, the ridiculous former BNP London Assembly member, take over from him in organising the capital.

Nunn’s pet hate is electoral politics. Despite having been a BNP candidate in the past, these days the self-appointed saviour of the far right has more of a lust

for the amateur dramatics of his self-financed gang, National Action.

Nunn railed throughout the two days about the futility of both the electoral process and democracy in general. However, only Alex Davies, deputy leader of National Action was afforded a place at the top table. When he spoke, others shook their heads in confused and insulted disapproval and he learned very quickly that his place at the table was best spent listening.

Veteran Holocaust denier – and regular contributor to Iranian state television Peter Rushton – gave a rambling analysis of Jewish big business interests and his own growing detachment not just from the British far right but from reality in general.

The rehabilitation of Mark Adrian Collett, the one-time heir apparent to Nick Griffin – and whom German nazis are convinced is a Jew – was given a healthy leg-up as he spoke at length and enthusiastically about community engagement and what he felt was the great success of the Leave EU campaign that he contributed such lurid tabloid headlines to.

Collett’s own skeletons are barely in the closet, but he was the only one at the conference with any kind of recent, serious and successful engagement behind him. No matter how tenuous, tedious or tawdry.

Nor is Collett entirely reformed. He’s

still parading proudly around country with an exotic woman – “Eva Van Housen” – decorated with swastikas all over her body.

Sitting next to Davies, attendees saw an almost mirror image, as like a younger Collett, Davies played out a series of extreme political and personal *faux pas* seemingly unaware that they will follow him for ever should he seek out a serious future in far right politics.

Whilst Collett is now thriving on his growing rehabilitation in far right circles, even being anointed recently as former Klan leader David Duke’s right-hand man in the UK, it is believed that Nunn sees one of these two as the “saviour” of the British far right. Most certainly people warmed more to Collett than they did to the brash and infantile Davies.

But nothing was agreed. In reality, this was not even the (active) far right. Nunn had thrown some money into a pit of grateful people whose attention he craved and enabled them to depart with expropriated toiletries, towels and a sense of self-importance but nothing else.

The Collet-Davies dynamic was intriguing, though. As Collet was adjusting himself in front of the mirror, Davies stood behind him, looking over his shoulder. Someone, at least, looks destined to be fed to the lions, his future already behind him.

*With apologies to Marcel Proust

Nazis mass for S

Rahel Hubacher of Antifa Bern and Jan Raabe report

THE PICTURES tell their own tawdry tale: thousands of people in a large hall, many with arm outstretched to flaunt the Hitler salute.

One participant waxed enthusiastic: "For me, this gig and the concert in general can only be spoken about in superlatives" Further, enthused this nazi from Germany: "From an organisational point of view, it's a Number 1, from the way it was held and its musical content."

He is probably correct. The 5,000-participant concert on 15 October in the small Swiss town of Unterwasser, in the Toggenburg region, is arguably the biggest-ever right-wing concert in Europe.

Harbinger

The leaflet promoting the concert had been present for weeks on relevant Internet fora and on Facebook, announcing the appearance of the notorious German hate rock bands Stahlgwitter, Confident of Victory, Excess and Frontalkraft, as well as the German rapper Makss Damage and the Swiss band Amok.

The venue for the event, however, was marked up as being in Southern Germany. On the flyer was the logo of the right-wing extremist mail order outfit *Das Zeughaus* (The Armoury), giving the clear impression that it was connected with the concert.

The listed bands are currently among the top German nazi bands.

In particular, Stahlgwitter, which has been on nazi stages inside Germany and abroad for over 20 years, has gained cult status with its open allegiance to national socialism.

Tickets for admission to the concert cost €30 each which was duly paid into the bank account of the Thuringian so-called "autonomous nationalist" David Heinlein. Ticket revenue for nazi concerts in Germany frequently flows through the same account. Since ticket buyers for this one were also offered seats on coaches to the concert, it was clear the nazis were hoping this would be a big event.

Using mobile phones for coordination, the organisers guided participants to a meeting place in the area of the southern German city of Ulm. From there, they were pointed to Unterwasser, almost 200 kilometres away, in the Swiss canton of St. Gallen, and to an event hall rented from one Matthias Melchner, a German resident there.

It was Melchner who applied for an official permit to hold the concert and the authorities gave him the go-ahead for an event with 600 participants even though the hall itself is approved to hold 2,000 persons.

On the evening of the concert, however, the police were taken aback by the sheer size of the crowd but did not intervene. When Antifa Bern drew attention to the concert

through Twitter and social media, the police were still unable to recognise what was going on in front of them.

Later, the cantonal police, who were *not* in the hall for this "private function", spoke of a calm and orderly atmosphere. As if they knew. That the police could only talk about the €150,000 taken in admission fees from this "private" event is incomprehensible especially when a video, that became public in the concert's aftermath, shows the audience doing collective Hitler salutes and raucously chanting "Sieg Heil".

"Superlatives"

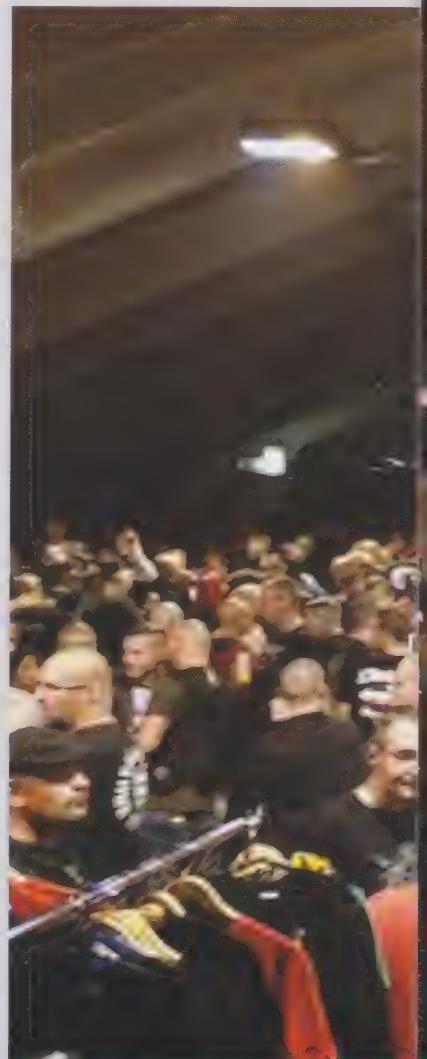
In the German media, nazi youth culture and the events, mainly, concerts, that underpin it are paid little attention any more. Over the last 20 years, people have become accustomed to images of these rowdy gatherings.

The authorities, which never took this event seriously in the first place, later described the Unterwasser concert as "unorganised" and depoliticised it, ignoring the stark fact that an established and highly professional scene has now emerged and that now has secure access to concert halls and other event locations.

More and more of the concerts are being openly announced as political rallies. In addition, to the performances of the bands, speeches are frequently made

and the authorities in many places no longer count these events a simply concerts but do little to prevent them. It was only in May 2016 that one such "rally" took place in Thuringia, eastern Germany, with six bands and around 3,500 participants.

The authorities in Switzerland show only lassitude and incompetence



Swiss hate binge

The nazi mob at Unterwasser

in dealing with nazi concerts. Time and again, the local nazi scene organises and stages events of international importance without hindrance. The latest concert in Switzerland reflects the international structures created and still supported by Blood&Honour – banned in Germany – and the Hammerskins.



Left Behind Communities

Merthyr Tydfil

Tom Godwin reports from the town built on the back of the industrial revolution and the coal and steel industries

Merthyr Tydfil is a town built on the back of the industrial revolution and the coal and steel industries. Historian Huw Williams has used the term "Mongrel Merthyr" to describe the collective role Irish, English, Welsh and Europeans have had in changing the town over the last two centuries.

The original incomers to Merthyr Tydfil arrived in search of work and the character of the town and the surrounding area was forged around heavy industries that provided unionised jobs and a sense of local pride.

The process of deindustrialization in the UK – beginning in the 1950s, and accelerating in the 1980s – has seen any earlier relative prosperity replaced by decades of poverty, ill health, mass unemployment and an erosion of shared identity.

Similar to other post-industrial areas, Merthyr has also seen a small increase in immigration over the last ten years that has significant enough for divisions to take hold, the presence of immigrants being used by some to draw a causal relationship between migrants and the community's loss of identity and plunge into poverty.

In Merthyr, it is UKIP that has most effectively capitalized and built on this tale of blame. Its vote share rose dramatically in the

South Wales Valleys in 2015, catapulting it into second place on many areas.

UKIP's campaign headquarters was opened on Merthyr High Street and, just a year later, in the Welsh Assembly Elections, the party unprecedentedly won 7 seats.

Local UKIP candidate David Rowlands was caught on camera, during a BBC documentary on immigration to Merthyr, lyingly informing town centre shoppers that British people were not allowed in a local Polish shop.

What are we doing and why is it different?

To challenge divisions in Merthyr, Rotherham, Dudley, Thurrock and other post-industrial communities, we need to provide the tools for people in communities to begin to identify, address and confront the real causes of the challenges they face.

This requires a long-term strategy that unlocks resources and gets people organised around broad and deeply felt issues, particularly in communities where racist notions have taken some hold.

Globalisation and uncontrolled capitalism are at the heart of the UK's industrial decline. This sombre environment is unlikely to change anytime soon.

Bringing people together to address the issues they now face can encourage

them to analyse the real root causes of their disadvantaged situation and enable them to bring change to their communities.

Building inclusive networks and looking for allies is an integral part to building up the power to effect such change. This process (almost as a side-effect) will undermine the racist climate.

HOPE not hate's organizing so far in Merthyr has focused on mobilising resources and allies in the community to foster discussion. Simply providing an alternative viewpoint (either through a shared event or having a constructive conversation on the door step) can change minds.

Training for activists on how to engage meaningfully with people who hold racist views is designed to get down to brass tacks – genuine concerns about housing, jobs, immigration etc – and think about what needs to be done to alleviate these concerns.

Our activists have been having taking up these issues in the most direct way possible, by knocking on doors, where discussions are designed not only to explore people's views, but to listen, probe, and identify opportunities to organise around local issues on a "street-by-street" level.

Our most recent event in Merthyr was held at the local football club. A Hnh team

HOPE NOT HATE
Bathlu cymuned y wlad
Celebrating community

Get your voice heard
Welsh Assembly



of Polish and Portuguese players went up against local league side Quar Park Rangers, with Wales' national manager Chris Coleman joining a couple of hundred other people in the stands (including Wales' youngest Elvis impersonator (just 16) for half time entertainment). The Hnh team is now joining an official local league with the help of the club.

Our local education strategy is designed to enable people to talk about their fears and prejudices

for starters



Just announced!
Merthyr's latest talent
THE DOLE AGE
will be playing in the bar
end of the game
Merthyr

and directly address them and, so, we are working with local elected representatives to extend this

to schools, colleges and youth groups. We are also working with the council to develop a Quality Standard for businesses.

We know that there are many people who can be shifted in their views through training, conversations and shared events. However, one of the key elements of the challenge in towns like Merthyr is that many people will hold racist views. Our measure of success will be not the extent to which people working with

us are "politically correct" but the extent to which the community as a whole becomes less divided and more accepting of its own diversity.

For many however, prejudiced views are more deeply entrenched. We cannot ignore this and an even broader, more ambitious and collaborative approach is needed.

A new strategy – Health Inequality

In each of our key areas, deindustrialization has led to increasing poverty that has contributed to increased death rates.

Each of the areas we are organising in can be compared with relatively affluent places nearby and demonstrate a difference of as much as 10 years in life expectancy.

Health disparity can be changed both in terms of policy demands upon relevant bodies can be effected by community self-help. Importantly, health disparity is not an issue that can be easily

incorporated into notions about "too many immigrants" (unlike housing, job security etc.).

An early step will be the release of an evidence-based report for each area highlighting significant health disparities in our target areas and working with local media and a coalition of local partners to bring this issue into urgent focus.

This approach will, hopefully, begin a process of transformation that can enable people take charge of their collective issues and sideline hateful explanations along the way. It will not be an overnight success story but success will be measured by a reduction in hate crimes and racist graffiti and by an increase in perceptions that "things are getting better" and that the town is "a good place to live".

At a national level, we are working with academics, trade unions, economists and other interested parties to develop policies based on what we learn from the grassroots work

of our local organisers. Once a community has come together to consider action to reduce the health disparity between it and a neighbouring community, there will be a range of issues that arise: the quality of local jobs, local levels of educational attainment, access to exercise etc. Each of these can be included in a policy of working together and doing what we can do to pressurise "decision makers" on our behalf. We very much hope that our project can become a model for organising in other so-called "left behind" communities.

The Brexit vote and Trump's election in America have put renewed focus on and added new urgency to our efforts. Merthyr has a proud progressive history. Our intervention can help reinvigorate communities and groups in the area and begin to undermine the cultures of blame and hate that UKIP has worked to stoke up.

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Mutual mistrust?

The British press and the Muslim community have an unhappy relationship – will it ever improve? Sam King reports.

WHEN *THE SUN* newspaper turned on Match of the Day (MotD) host Gary Lineker for daring to question its reporting on child refugees coming to the UK, many Muslims in the UK saw something they have long complained about in British tabloid media: clear bias.

Referring to “The Jungle” migrant camp in Calais, which was about to be cleared and had led to clamours of both support and outrage as unaccompanied minors headed to the UK, Lineker had tweeted: “The treatment by some towards these young refugees is hideously racist and utterly heartless. What’s happening to our country?”

UKIP MEP and former *Express* political editor, Patrick O’Flynn, immediately called on him to be sacked from his MotD role, followed shortly after by *The Sun* quoting a number of Tory MPs calling for the same, after Lineker had called into question the newspaper’s coverage. *The Sun*, and several other tabloids, had run raging headlines about the apparent ages of some of the (almost certainly Muslim) refugee children coming to the UK.

Although Lineker is not a Muslim, Channel 4 News reporter Fatima Manji is. Her crime was to complain about *The Sun*’s blustering former editor Kelvin MacKenzie, who wrote at the time of the Nice terror attacks that the news programme was guilty of “editorial stupidity” for allowing Manji to wear a hijab (head scarf) when “there had been another shocking slaughter by a Muslim”.

Manji and ITN chiefs immediately complained to the press regulator, IPSO, contending that the article breached the watchdog’s code on the grounds of discrimination, harassment and accuracy. More than 800 others also complained to the regulator but IPSO rejected the charges.

IPSO, which is the press industry’s own choice of regulator post-Leveson Inquiry, earlier this year judged *The Daily Star Sunday*’s headline “UK mosques fundraising for terror” to be “significantly misleading”. This came a week after *The Sun* was forced to acknowledge that its headline “1 in 5 Brit Muslims’ sympathy for jihadis” was similarly misleading. The paper had published a picture of Mohammed Emwazi, the British executioner with the so-called Islamic State known as ‘Jihadi John’, alongside the shock headline.

After the Manji/MacKenzie IPSO decision, the former *Sun* political editor and IPSO board member said Manji had “made a fool of herself” over her complaint, arguing that she had “singled herself out” by her choice of clothing and ended his boisterous rant by saying that “she knew precisely what she was doing.”

Grooming

Miqdaad Versi, assistant secretary general of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), says that there are also many stories which have blurred the line between the Muslim faith and the issue of on-street “grooming”.



The treatment by some towards these young refugees is hideously racist and utterly heartless. What's happening to our country?



He says that press headlines such as “Muslim sex grooming” or “Imam beaten to death in sex grooming town” have blurred the lines between the Muslim faith, the Muslim community and child sexual exploitation.

“Sensationalism and scaremongering about the apparent threat posed by Muslims is also widespread,” he wrote in *The Independent* in April. “Just look at headlines such as ‘BBC puts Muslims before you’ [Daily

Star], ‘Halal secret of Pizza Express’ [The Sun], or ‘Muslim vote could decide 25 per cent of seats’ [Daily Mail].

The Referendum vote, too, threw media reporting on Muslims into sharp relief. Sima Kotecha, a reporter for Radio 4’s flagship *Today* programme, said on Twitter that she was in “utter shock” after having been called a “Paki” in her hometown of Basingstoke.

The hostile attitudes and reporting coincided with a

spike in hate crimes during and following the Brexit referendum decision and the heady anti-immigration sentiment that was strongly reflected in some parts of the press.

Effects on attitudes to Muslims

According to research released this March by the University of Cambridge, more than half of Britons see Islam as a threat to Western liberal democracy. Over 30 percent of young children believe Muslims are "taking over England" according to the research and hate crime against Muslims continues to rise, up by 70 percent in 2015, according to the Metropolitan police (which is still recording historically high numbers of Islamophobic hate crime incidents a year later).

One issue may be the lack of Muslims working in the mainstream media, some suggest. Research from City University in London (which has a renowned Journalism department) reveals that less than 0.5 percent of UK journalists are Muslim, compared with almost five percent of the national population.

Meanwhile, many Muslims (as with others disaffected by mainstream media coverage) can now seek their news from other sources, including social media, new digital media outlets, or television and radio stations from their countries of heritage.

"British minority group disaffection with local media is encouraging their members to turn to media from their regions of origin, which may be concerning for government," said Roxane Farmanfarmaian, principal at the University of Cambridge's Centre of the International Studies of the Middle East and North Africa.

Following attacks across Europe and the Middle East – including the shootings in January 2015 at the offices of *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in Paris, deadly violence across the French capital in November 2015, and

Support for Fatima Manji and Gary Lineker

HOPE not hate organised a giant pledge card, signed by 40,000 of our supporters, in support of both Gary Lineker and Fatima Manji.

Manji replied: "Thank you so much for your wonderful gesture of support. I am so very touched by your kindness in getting this together and by the numbers of people you got to sign up."

"More importantly it sends out a powerful message that there are those who will speak out against bigotry, racism and islamophobia, no matter how powerful those attacking you are."

Her colleague, Channel 4 News anchor Jon Snow, tweeted "WOW" and said the organisation would stand firm in the face of Fatima's "disgraceful hounding by *The Sun*".



twin attacks in Brussels – Muslims tend increasingly to feel judged by the media, Farmanfarmaian said, which often equates the Islamic faith with "terrorism".

Not a new problem

Anti-Muslim attitudes in the press are nothing new. Back in 2008, the conservative political columnist Peter Oborne drew attention to another *Sun* story with a focus on Muslims.

On the morning of 7 October 2006, *The Sun* had splashed a dramatic story across its front page. The story – billed as an exclusive – described in graphic detail how a "Muslim hate mob" had vandalised a house near Windsor. *The Sun*

said that "vile yobs hurled bricks through windows and daubed obscenities. A message on the drive spelled out in 4ft-letters: 'Fuck off'."

Tory MP Philip Davies was quoted in the piece, saying: "If there's anybody who should fuck off, it's the Muslims who are doing this kind of thing. Police should pull out the stops to track down these vile thugs."

But, as Oborne wrote: "There was one very big problem with *The Sun* story. There was no Muslim involvement of any kind. It is true that a house had been vandalised in Montagu Road, part of the comfortable and prosperous Windsor suburb of Datchet as *The Windsor Express* had reported

the previous day. It also looks very likely that the attack was connected with the potential arrival of four household cavalry officers."

One study (from the research centre Corpus Approaches to Social Science) looked at newspaper coverage between 1998-2014, suggesting that the use of the word "extremist" next to "Muslim" had declined since 2009, though that was reversed when the word "Islam" or "Islamic" was used.

Another finding from this same research was that there had been a statistically significant increase, over time, of the terms *extremism*, *radicalised*, *radicalisation* and *grooming* when reporting on the Muslim community.

Some have also pointed out that elements of the UK media, from tabloids through to heavyweight programmes such as the BBC's *Newshight*, have held a dubious record in promoting obvious hate preachers such as Anjem Choudary, now jailed for his role in inviting support for the Islamic State.

Choudary toured both British and foreign TV studios, acting as a go-to figure for most mainstream media, thus helping promote the notion that people like him had some form of legitimacy among British Muslims (when they, and he, did not).

And former *Daily Star* journalist, Richard Peppiatt, famously quit that paper after revealing that promoting "Islamophobia" was part of a deliberate editorial policy.

He detailed how he was forced by the editor essentially to invent several stories, including an entirely false story about how Muslims were planning on posing as Sikhs in order to hide bombs in their turbans, "a story that lashed out at both Muslims and Sikhs at once was too good to pass over".

Peppiatt said there was "a top-down pressure to unearth stories which fitted within a certain bent (immigrants are taking over, Muslims are a threat to security etc.) and led to casual and systemic distortions."

Even the much-vaunted Channel 4 has drawn criticism over its reporting on Muslims, namely its show 'What British Muslims Really Think', which prompted more than 200 complaints. The hour-long programme presented by Trevor Phillips, the former chair of the equality and human rights commission, promised to be a "rigorous survey of the views of British Muslims".

A *Guardian* panel of British Muslims who watched the programme were highly critical of the show, branding it "boring, inaccurate and sensationalist" and saying it "reinforced the us vs. them narrative". They said the

Lily Allen in the Calais Jungle



LILY ALLEN became embroiled in a row sparked by comments she made during a BBC-filmed visit to the Calais "Jungle" refugee camp and while speaking to a 13-year-old refugee from Afghanistan. An emotional Allen apologised to the boy "on behalf of my country", sparking anger on social media.

"It just seems that at three different intervals in this young boy's life, the English in particular have put you in danger," she said.

"We've bombed your country, put you in the hands of the Taliban and now put you in danger of risking your life to get into our country."

"I apologise on behalf of my country. I'm sorry for what we have put you through."

Some in the popular right-wing press blasted her, with The *Daily Mail*'s Jan Moir dismissing Allen's tears in the video as "patronising and self-indulgent". Allen stood her ground.

After calling in to an LBC show to explain her views, Allen said she was unsurprised by the "witch-hunt" launched after her comments.

"I expected it," she said. "I think what they seem to have picked up on is I apologised on behalf of the nation, but it was an emotional moment that I was affected by."

"Perhaps I could have chosen my words better and said: I apologise for the part the country I come from has played in the situation you're currently experiencing. But that was what I said."

"It is being used to support the xenophobic rhetoric and narrative that we are currently experiencing, especially in the mainstream press."

documentary's methodology was "problematic and flawed" and it "suggested you're either a liberal Muslim or slightly extreme".

Some journalists, however, have also criticised what they see as Islamist groups, and Islamist-friendly leftists, covering up for intolerance and hate by claiming "Islamophobia" as a blanket defence, something that has undoubtedly happened at certain points. But that accusation, while applying to specific investigations, does not seem a plausible excuse for the wider array of anti-Muslim scare stories and headlines.

What's to be done?

Some also argue there needs to be more effective press regulation. Yet three years on from the signing of the Royal Charter on self-regulation of the press, Britain's main newspapers are all still refusing to sign up to the Leveson system.

The principle that unites them all in their opposition to Leveson is the belief that "recognition" is tantamount to "state regulation" which free speech campaigners will point out is a danger (and is a genuine danger in various countries overseas).

The government's approved press regulator,

Impress, which is primarily funded by Max Mosley, is rejected by most of the regular media and seems unlikely to be taken up any time soon. In response to this impasse, the government is launching a new consultation on the whole matter, with no clear resolution in sight.

Improved training, better engagement and outreach by Muslim organisations, and more Muslim journalists – all of which are happening already – may tip the balance of *some of the reporting*. How long that will take, and how effective it may be, is yet to be seen.

Joe Law RIP



By Matthew Collins

IT IS WITH great shock and sadness that I learned of the sudden death of Belfast trade unionist, Joe Law, aged 69, at the end of October.

Joe was a long-time friend of HOPE not hate, and one of the people I sought out during any spare moment in Belfast. He was a walking, talking encyclopaedia of Irish radical history and traditions. He was also an exhaustive, combative and often caustic conversationalist.

It would often surprise many people to learn that Joe was a Protestant from the Shankill Road in the Loyalist heartland of west Belfast.

In the early 1960s, Joe left formal education in search of work. At 15, he went straight onto the shop floor, working in foundries, before passing

through England and into the merchant navy.

It was the merchant navy that took him to South Africa where he witnessed the brutality and racism of the apartheid regime first hand.

Despite leaving home a "Queen and Country" Protestant, it was on his travels that Law began to question much of his earlier life and thought. It was in protest at anti-Irish discrimination that he first stood up and described himself as an Irishmen.

He would return to Belfast in time to see the civil rights struggle reach its peak and then witness the outbreak of violence that blighted Northern Ireland for nearly thirty years.

In a moving obituary to Joe

in the *Irish Times* last month, Joe's former colleagues at Trademark (the trade union education facility he helped set up for cross-community education against sectarianism) wrote how, with great sadness, Joe came to realise his trade union and political activities meant increasing isolation from childhood contemporaries and the community from which he sprang.

Although that was entirely and sadly true, many workers in Belfast – of all religions and none – owe a debt of gratitude to Joe's enormous contribution to fighting racism and sectarianism from whichever quarter it came.

He took absolutely no prisoners and it was in the Communist Party of Ireland

that he found his political home.

Joe made somewhat of a name for himself in 1987 when, at the height of The Troubles, he faced down aggressive Loyalists at the Short's factory in Belfast during wildcat strikes over paramilitary emblems and flags. He was, by his own admission, a "rotten Prod".

Joe has been rightly described by those who knew him as one of the great Irish radical Protestants.

He was a friend to all who came to Belfast in peace. Describing how great a loss it is to lose such an educator, organiser and man of mischief is near impossible. Perhaps it is best left to one of his comrades who wrote: "At least Joe doesn't know he's dead!" ●

No unity on Russian marches

Ulyana Bobrova reports from Moscow

IN RUSSIA, the opposition to the Kremlin regime has been in crisis for some time. The ongoing mess, however, does not deter the radical right-wing scene. On 4 November, at this year's "Russian march" in Moscow's Lyublino district, 800 far rightists showed up with a roughly equal number of police on the scene. Some of the leading figures of the right-wing scene are in prison – or, like Dmitry Demushkin of the banned but-still-active-underground Slavic Union and later a founder of the outlawed Russkiye movement is under

house arrest – and could not attend. The issue of state repression, thus, was a main theme as was criticism of Putin's government, including its social policies and ubiquitous corruption.

In Lyublino, it was that part of the Russian radical right that sympathised with the protest movement in Ukraine that mainly marched. In the west of Moscow, another "Russian march without libertines" (an insulting word for liberals), Kremlin followers and Bandera followers" took place almost simultaneously with about 320 participants.

Also in Lyublino, where seven people were arrested, a black National Socialist block that, worryingly, had probably the lowest average age attracted most attention. The Hitler salute was much in evidence although organisers were embarrassed by the fact. A man was also arrested for carrying a – not forbidden – Ukrainian flag. At the closing rally, criticism was voiced over a planned "Russian nation" law. Nazis and radical nationalists just want to be Russians and reject any concept that is not solely based on ethnically-defined – that is racial – principles. •

Poisson aims to become a big fish on the Right

From Jean-Yves Camus in Paris

JEAN-FRÉDÉRIC POISSON, aged 53 and a member of parliament for the posh suburban constituency of Rambouillet, is emerging as the real surprise in the primary election to select the candidate of the mainstream conservative right for the 2017 Presidential election.

In fact, while the other contenders for the 20 November vote have to be endorsed by 250 elected officials, Poisson did not have to fulfil this requirement because the Charter of the Right, the set of rules and code of good practices adopted by the conservatives in order to organise the first-ever primary election in the history of the right, enables him to stand as the representative of a small arch-conservative party, the Parti Chrétien-Démocrate (PCD), an associate party of ex-president Nicolas Sarkozy's Les Républicains.

Poisson was virtually unknown until he made an impressive showing in the first TV debate between the 7 candidates contesting the primary on 13 October. With Sarkozy and other more minor contenders trying to outdo Marine Le Pen's extremist Front National (FN) on its right and saying they want less State, less welfare and fewer immigrants, Poisson played the old-style Christian Social card.

He was the only one to say that "trade unions are

necessary" (!) and was the only one to reject a ban the Hijab and other religious garb. He is known, however, for his staunch opposition to gay marriage and abortion but, on most social issues, he seemed much less reactionary than the rest.

Then, on 19 October, Poisson had the silly idea of giving an interview to *Nice Matin*, the major daily newspaper on the French Riviera, saying that Hillary Clinton's candidacy was noxious because "she is close to the kings of Wall Street and the Zionist lobbies in America". Poisson is a keen supporter of Donald Trump whom, he believes, will be a better President where the interests of France and Europe are concerned.

CRIF, the representative body of French Jewry, immediately published an angry statement, urging that Poisson be banned from contesting the primary, a demand promptly rejected by Les Républicains.

Although Poisson subsequently apologised for his remarks about "Zionist lobbies", he strayed still further away from the mainstream right by saying that, in the case that the second ballot of the presidential election in April and May next year involves Alain Juppé (the leading Republican candidate) and Marine Le Pen, he had not yet



made up his mind. Earlier this year, Poisson asked the right to put an end to its *cordon sanitaire* against the FN.

He and his tiny PCD party appear to be part of a wider network of people trying to build a political bridge between the FN and hardline conservatives who are convinced that it is time to unite with the FN.

On 2 December, Poisson is scheduled to hold a meeting in Paris with the controversial Béziers mayor Robert Ménard (elected with FN support),

the right-wing former Minister and would-be populist Philippe de Villiers and Karim Ouchikh, leader of Souveraineté, identité et libertés (SIEL), an anti-European Union movement linked to the FN.

By that time Poisson will almost certainly have lost the primary but he just might have become the first conservative MP to swim over to Marine Le Pen if Juppé, a former prime minister with a moderate record, is anointed candidate of the right. ●

HUNGARY'S REVOLUTION the sour sixtieth commemoration

By **Bernard Rorke** in Budapest

THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY of the 1956 Hungarian revolution ended with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's address to the nation, in Budapest on 23 October, being drowned out by the whistles and boos of hundreds of pro-democracy protesters shouting "dictator". Members of the press were harassed and some demonstrators, including prominent historian Krisztián Ungváry – bloodied by a punch in the face – set upon by Orbán's Fidesz supporters

Orbán's speech verged on the absurd: "The task of the freedom-loving peoples of Europe today is to protect Brussels from Sovietisation. We do not want for them to decide for us with whom or how we must live in our own homeland," he ranted.

Describing the European Union's refugee policy as a danger to the foundations of Europe's own civilisation, and his closing of Hungary's borders to stem the "mass migration from the south" as an act of courage, Orbán declared: "As the inheritors of the 1956 revolution we cannot accept that Europe would cut the roots of ours that made us great."

Far from inheritors, this government stands accused of betraying the 1956 Revolution. Following the Soviet repression, 200,000 Hungarian men, women and children crossed Hungary's borders as refugees. In what the UNHCR described as the first major refugee relief operation of its kind, within a matter of months, more than 180,000 refugees in Austria and Yugoslavia had been transferred to boats, trains and planes to be settled in 37 different countries.

Sixty years later, the self-proclaimed heirs of the revolution seem to take pleasure in inflicting suffering and hardship on desperate refugees stranded on Hungary's own borders. Just three days before the anniversary, foreign minister Peter Szijjarto, when faced with evidence, on BBC TV's *Hardtalk*, of police brutality against asylum seekers



Hungarian Revolution Memorial
photo: Alan Levine

and migrants on the border with Serbia, simply retorted: "They are lying".

As Lydia Gall from Human Rights Watch responded: "No high-profile denials can undo the stark reality on the ground: Hungarian border officials, including police and army, on a regular basis beat, brutalise, and humiliate asylum seekers and refugees before forcing them back to the Serbian border ... The violence involved pummelling with fists, kicks, beatings with batons, use of pepper spray, and setting dogs on them."

This routine violence on the border causes little public outrage in a country that has been saturated with anti-Muslim and anti-refugee propaganda over the last year in vicious TV and poster campaigns that amount to institutional incitement to racial hatred.

Adding more vitriol, Orbán stated: "There will be no lawless districts in Hungarian cities. There will be no riots, no refugee camps set on fire and no gangs will hunt for our wives and daughters."

October also witnessed street protests against the most significant attack on opposition media, with the sudden shutting down of the left-of-centre daily newspaper *Népszabadság* which, up to its demise, had been investigating governmental corruption. The economic excuses made for closing the paper fooled no one and the most blatant sign of political motivation was the immediate removal of the paper's online archives. This was Fidesz's latest betrayal of the revolutionary ideal of freedom.

ION BETRAYED

Commemoration of 1956



One real former revolutionary and left-liberal MP, Imre Mécs, who was sentenced to death in the aftermath, delivered this scathing condemnation of the Orbán regime: "Why is there dejection, hopelessness? Why is there pseudo-democracy? One time 'young democrats' now turn against their principles, seek exclusive power, centralise practically everything, [and] create a new predatory-exploiting stratum of society of their choice and all that out of the money of the poor. They have institutionalised corruption and poverty, centralised the autocratic system, and oppressed self-governance in every field. They stir up hatred and ignorance is rampant. Love, which determines the quality of your life, is persecuted and is 'non-grata'."

Mécs delivered his speech after the burial of his former prison cellmate, ex-president Árpád Göncz, last year. Both men were arrested after the Revolution. Göncz was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment without the possibility of appeal and Mécs was condemned to death.

They were freed in 1963 following an amnesty for political prisoners. But on this 60th anniversary, there was no mention of revolutionary leaders who were imprisoned or executed, no mention of martyred prime minister Imre Nagy or of István Bibó, his minister of state who, alone, remained in the parliament building – while Soviet tanks stormed Budapest on 4 November 1956 – and issued a proclamation to the nation, calling for passive resistance to the occupying Soviet army and its puppet government.

According to the government, the target group of the 60th anniversary commemoration was Hungary's youth and the focus of massive poster campaign was on street fighters, "the simple people" who faced down the Soviets.

Sociologist Maria Vásárhelyi accused Fidesz of trying to "monopolise the revolution" and create a new account that erases the "role of left-wing politicians and actors and denies the left-wing character of revolution."

As '56 participant and historian György Litván described it, the uprising was an example of a revolutionary mass movement "characterized by the denunciation of lies and the will to speak the truth ... with the aim of recovering elementary rights and freedoms abrogated by the dictatorship."

This current government betrays the ideals of '56 with its corruption and lies, its propaganda of hate and fear, its distorted appropriation of the past and pollution of the present and its abrogation of all that is liberal in a democracy.

HUNGARY | Vona demands new referendum

ISTVÁN TÓTH REPORTS FROM BUDAPEST



AT A RALLY ON 18 November 2015, far right Jobbik leader Gábor Vona (pictured) called for a new and binding referendum on immigration. He said his party's "message to the world" is that "if 100,000 migrants come to our borders, we will send 100,000 people to protect it, if one million arrive, we will send one million and if even more migrants arrive then all 10 million of us will go there... Hungary will remain ours until our last breaths!"

Months before the 2 October 2016 anti-quota referendum, Vona had already warned that "if the referendum proves unsuccessful, it will be Viktor Orbán's responsibility and he will have to resign." Though the 2 October referendum was declared invalid because fewer than 50% voted, Orbán's Fidesz party celebrated it as a "great victory", because it mobilised the 2.26 million Fidesz voters and Jobbik's 1.02 million voters.

On the basis of this "result," Fidesz has prepared a constitutional amendment to change the rules. However, to pass the amendment a 2/3rd parliamentary majority was needed so Fidesz was obliged to ask for Jobbik's support. Vona's precondition was a rejection of all forms of migration, including a residency bond scheme but Fidesz persuaded Jobbik that the "buy Hungarian residency for \$300,000" racket is a separate – financial – issue to be discussed later.

A narcissist and fascist who could have helped Hitler

Paul Meszaros reads a riveting new biography of wartime fascist broadcaster, Lord Haw-Haw



Colin Holmes, Emeritus Professor of History at Sheffield University, has written a riveting political biography of William Joyce, or "Lord Haw-Haw".

Joyce was the infamous wartime traitor and "other" interwar British fascist leader, aside from Oswald Mosley.

Holmes' book is a triumph on many levels: scholarly, well researched and erudite, as well as very accessible and fast-paced. Although we think we know the ending, this book it never fails to delight. It reads as a political thriller, a riveting page-turner.

Too often, biographers and others have treated some of the fascists of this period with kid gloves. There have been deliberate attempts to gild or protect the reputations of some of these individuals that can only serve as a long-range attempt at political rehabilitation.

This book provides the antidote to that approach. It places Joyce in context, as a committed fascist leader whose story is important for our understanding of that period, for the rise of fascism and also for the way that many, including many from the ruling class, were (and can be) seduced by fascism.

Holmes has assembled an impressive range of sources including printed books, official archives (in Ireland, Britain, Germany, Russia and the United States), documents in private archives, and parliamentary debates, as well as popular literature and film. He has made particularly effective use of Joyce's prison correspondence, offering his readers a much wider selection than any previous biographer of these defiant yet anguished final letters.

No boasted he win the war

Holmes is particularly critical of other biographies that are either incomplete or soft. This book not only rectifies these omissions, it builds a picture of Joyce through time as a bully, an egotist and, intriguingly, as a narcissist.

Whatever else Joyce was, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw* clearly demonstrates that Joyce remained an unrepentant fascist. He stayed with the Nazis to the bitter end – being captured near Flensburg, the last bolt hole of the Nazis in 1945 – and never apologised for his beliefs or retracted any of them. He believed he had committed himself to the decisive ideology of his time and (in his eyes) it was an act of pure madness for Europe to reject National Socialism.

Holmes also convincingly demonstrates that Joyce remained an unrestrained antisemite. Whereas some fascists expressed their Jew-hatred in coded form, Joyce's hostility was always viciously overt.

He reveals how Joyce was an exterminationist antisemite, too, who can be found recommending that Jewish Communists should be shot and claiming that Britain's Jews should have been hanged from London's lampposts. He viewed his Jewish enemies as greasy, scheming, powerful Oriental parasites who must be stamped out.

In addition, Holmes writes of Joyce the traitor. It traces his growing fascination with Hitler (the book contains one particularly telling photograph illustrating this obsession) and navigates the twisted path that, in the summer of 1939, led Joyce to Berlin.

It is for his notorious broadcasts from there between 1939 and 1945 that he is recalled in Britain today. Some have suggested Joyce was always a figure of "radio fun" but Holmes does not buy this argument, writing instead that Joyce's early broadcasts – as the Wehrmacht was effortlessly smashing its way through Western Europe – were extremely powerful and threatening.

"A miracle might save us otherwise we are done," Sir Alexander Cadogan of the Foreign Office wrote at the time. Joyce gleefully capitalised on such fears and, through his menacing, broadcasts succeeded in heightening them.

And, he remained fully committed to National Socialism. His final drunken recording, made in Hamburg in 1945, had him thumping the table for emphasis and proclaiming unashamedly: "Es lebe Deutschland. Heil Hitler. And Farewell."

Holmes finds the time to emphasise the fear that Joyce created by informing us of a Sheffield woman so terrified by his broadcasts that she gassed herself.

In tracing these aspects of Joyce's political life, Holmes throws a net over the social-political circumstances of the time that encouraged such fascist and pro-Hitler sentiment. Fascism never emerges out of a vacuum. He is well-informed not only about Joyce but also that murky world of Britain's Nazi fellow travellers including some of society's "great and the good" who, given the right circumstances, were prepared to betray their country and align themselves with Hitler.

**SEARCHING FOR
LORD HAW-HAW**

The political lives of William Joyce

Colin Holmes

Searching for Lord Haw-Haw. The Political Lives of William Joyce
by Colin Holmes, (Abingdon, Routledge, 2016), xiv+494 pages.
£14.99 (paperback)

Here he paints particularly scathing portraits of Oswald Mosley and his wife Lady Diana. This is an important corrective to the attempts at revision by groups such as the Friends of Oswald Mosley.

Finally, Holmes emphasises that if fascism is to be understood – and by implication contained – it is important to look beyond merely social context.

He is the first of Joyce's biographers to delve into Joyce's personality: not by attempting to psychoanalyse him, but by examining his actions, considering his written work, and assessing his speeches, concluding that Joyce was a narcissist, totally consumed by a suffocating sense of self-love as well as an oppressive, overpowering feeling of self-belief.

As a result, Joyce was

convinced he understood better than anyone else the politics of his day. And, whether in Britain or Germany, he schemed tirelessly against those who, he believed, stood in his way as he endlessly lusted after power.

In fact, Joyce is on record as stating that if he had been at Hitler's right hand, advising him on strategy, Germany would have won the war by 1941.

The influence of this narcissism needs to be fed into the history of fascism and our full understanding of it. Not all fascists are infected by such narcissism, but Joyce certainly was and doubtless others were (and are).

As it stands, this is an important book for all anti-fascists, an important tool in helping us to understand and know our enemy.

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